THE ITALIANS IN AMERICA

PHILIP M. ROSE

JKM LIBRARY
E184.I8 R797
Rose, Philip Marshman,
The Italians in America
3 9968 02654 8415

ACCESSION NUMBER 53585 SHELF NUMBER E 184 R79

The Virginia Library

McCormick
Theological Seminary

of the

Presbyterian Church, Chicago

826 Belden Avenue

From

Received May 1924

THE ITALIANS IN AMERICA

PHILIP M. ROSE

THE ITALIANS IN AMERICA

BY

PHILIP M. ROSE

SUPERVISOR OF ITALIAN CONGREGATIONAL WORK IN CONNECTICUT AND PASTOR OF THE FIRST ITALIAN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, HARTFORD, CONN.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

CHARLES HATCH SEARS

McCORMICK
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
LIBRARY.

NEW YORK
GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY

COPYRIGHT, 1922,
BY GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY

THE ITALIANS IN AMERICA. II

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

E
184.I
R7

INTRODUCTION

The New Americans Series consists of studies of the following racial groups, together with a study of the Eastern Orthodox Churches:

Albanian and Bulgarian, Armenian and Assyrian-Chaldean, Czecho-Slovak, Greek, Italian, Jewish, Jugo-Slav (Croatian, Servian, Slovenian), Magyar, Polish, Russian and Ruthenian, or Ukrainian, Spanish (Spaniards) and Portuguese, Syrian.

These studies, made under the auspices of the Interchurch World Movement were undertaken to show, in brief outline, the social, economic and religious background, European or Asiatic, of each group and to present the experience—social, economic and religious—of the particular group in America, with special reference to the contact of the given people with religious institutions in America.

It was designed that the studies should be sympathetic but critical.

It is confidently believed that this series will help America to appreciate and appropriate the spiritual wealth represented by the vast body of New Americans, each group having its own peculiar heritage and potentialities; and will lead Christian America, so far as she will read them, to become a better lover of mankind.

The writer, in each case, is a kinsman or has had direct and intimate relationship with the people, or group of peoples, presented. First hand knowledge and the ability to study and write from a deeply sympathetic and broadly Christian viewpoint were primary conditions in the selection of the authors.

5-3-'65

The author of this volume is an American. He has a cultured Italian-American wife. He is a graduate (Phi Beta Kappa) of Dartmouth College and has the B. D. and S. T. M. degrees from Hartford Theological Seminary. He was for two years a fellow of Hartford Seminary and the Connecticut Congregational Missionary Society in Italy. Between two pastorates of Italian churches he was for one year traveling Y. M. C. A. secretary for prisoners of war in Italy, visiting many sections from which our immigrants come. He is now pastor of an Italian church and supervisor of Italian Congregational work in Connecticut. His training and experience fit him well for the writing of this book.

These manuscripts were published through the courtesy of the Interchurch World Movement with the coöperative aid of various denominational boards, through the Home Missions Councils of America, and the Council of Women for Home Missions.

At this writing arrangements have been made for the publication of only six of the Series, namely; Czecho-Slovak, Greek, Italian, Magyar, Polish and Russian, but other manuscripts will be published as soon as funds or advance orders are secured.

A patient review of all manuscripts, together with a checking up of facts and figures, has been made by the Associate Editor, Dr. Frederic A. Gould, to whom we are largely indebted for statistical and verbal accuracy. The editor is responsible for the general plan and scope of the studies and for questions of policy in the execution of this work.

Charles Hatch Sears.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	THE BACKGROUND IN ITALY	13
	Part I: History and Racial Relationships	13
	Part II: The Recent Political Situation	16
	Part III: Economic Conditions	16
	Part IV: Social Conditions	30
	Part V: Religious Conditions	41
II	THE IMMIGRATION AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF ITALIAN-AMERICANS	53
	Part I: Immigration	53
	Part II: Economic Conditions	60
III	SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND EDUCATIONAL FORCES AMONG ITALIAN-AMERICANS	67
	Part I: Social Conditions	67
	Part II: Educational Forces	84
IV	RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS AMONG ITALIAN-AMERICANS	99
	Part I: Old and New Faiths and Churches	99
	Part II: Methods of Work	112
	Part III: Religious Literature	127
V	PROBLEMS OF RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP	132
VI	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	139
VII	APPENDICES	
	A Example of a Complete Program for Italian Missions	143
	B Schedule of Judson Neighborhood House, New York City	146
	C Program of Davenport Settlement, New Haven, Conn.	148
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	149
	INDEX	153

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Dante Alighieri	16
A Public Laundry Basin	32
Primitive Irrigating Plant	32
The Cottian Alps	33
Map of the Vaudois Valleys	33
The Wall of Termoli, on the Adriatic	80
Carunchio, Typical Hilltop Town	80
San Giovanni in Conca, Milan	112
Orchestra of the Italian Church and School of Dante, Waterbury, Conn.	113

THE ITALIANS IN AMERICA

NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
RUSSIA
ESTHONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
BRITISH
ISLES
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
GERMANY
POLAND
UKRAINE
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROUMANIA
JUGO-SLAVIA
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
ITALY
PORTUGAL
SPAIN

McCORMICK
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
LIBRARY.

THE ITALIANS IN AMERICA

Chapter I

THE BACKGROUND IN ITALY

Part I

HISTORY AND RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

One needs but to call attention to the geographical position and alluring climate of Italy to make it understood why in all ages Italy has been the meeting place of many races. Its narrow peninsula, seductive by nature and enriched by man, stands athwart the Mediterranean highway at the cross roads of East and West, North and South. Not only have modern artists and tourists been drawn thither and lingered, but whole nations have come, seen, struggled for a foothold, lived and died there.

Italy meeting ground of races.—This means mingled blood and mixed psychological heritage amid changing conditions, and they are everything. The Romans ruled a polyglot race before the barbarians swept in from the North, and the Lombards formed their state in the Po Valley. Sicily is the most extreme example of all the southern provinces in the multiplied migrations which have overrun it and left their racial impress. The original Siculi, the Greeks, the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths, the Saracens, the Normans, the Germans, the

French, and the Spaniards make up the long succession of its possessors. When this has been considered and its concomitant, the well-nigh chronic state of war during many centuries, the observation of an Italian to his English friend becomes luminous. "You English," he said, "are always writing books about Italy and the Italians—but it never seems to strike you that there are many Italies and many Italians; and you forget that the plebiscites which gave us political unity and liberty did not at the same time miraculously create a new race."[1]

Crucible of social experiment.—For many centuries Italy has been a seething crucible of political and social experiment, ofttimes splendid, ever novel. To speak only of older times, the monastic system molded the society of the Dark Ages and conserved the values of ancient civilization; the papacy, more Italian than aught else, was the storm center of Europe for a thousand years; the Renaissance of learning found its preëminent field in Italy; the succession of city republics, Pisa, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Venice, left a precious legacy to the world in many fields of endeavor. Some names of these times, for example, Dante, Petrarch, St. Francis, Michelangelo, Raphael, Savonarola, Galileo, Columbus, are supreme names on the roll of human achievement and demonstrate the superlativeness of Italian genius.

In the South.—For our purpose, we must recall the South, or Meridionale as it is called, coupled with the adjacent island of Sicily. It had its lesser glories also; but ever a rural land, it is never to be forgotten as (before the unification of Italy) the often devastated and desolate, tyrant-ridden, priest-dominated South. Reduced by war and misgovernment, through long ages, its people had become isolated, provincial, primitive, ignorant and not rarely

[1] Bagot, *My Italian Year*, p. 16.

barbaric. At no time was this worse than just before the unification of Italy when the Bourbons ruled the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily through a government which Gladstone called the "negation of God."

The success of the American War for Independence, and the overthrow of the monarchy by the French Revolution encouraged the educated classes of Italy to hope and action.

Political union of Italy.—The campaigns of Napoleon broke up the existing order in the land, and the subsequent carving up of Italy, without regard to the wishes of its people, strengthened the purpose of Italian independence and unity. A remarkable galaxy of great men reduced the dream to a fact of glorious accomplishment. Most of them were natives of the northern provinces and their task resolved itself at first into adding province after province to the existing kingdom of Sardinia, and in making its dynasty the dynasty of the new kingdom of Italy. Mazzini was the prophet and pen of the movement, Cavour was its statesman, and Garibaldi the knight-errant. Victor Emmanuel II kept careful, sympathetic watch over all. The establishment of the constitution in 1848, the participation of Italy in the Crimean War, the waging of the wars with Austria, the Expedition of Garibaldi into Sicily and the south, the campaigns in papal territory, and the entrance into Rome through the breach of the Porta Pia, on the 20th of September, 1870, were all steps through which Italy from the Alps to Sicily finally became one. In most cases popular vote confirmed what military or political action had opened the way for, annexation to Piedmont, seat of the kingdom of Sardinia and of the House of Savoy.

Part II

RECENT POLITICAL SITUATION

When the great result for which patriots had been longing and fighting for nearly a hundred years had been accomplished, Victor Emmanuel could say: "My heart thrills as I salute all the representatives of our united country for the first time, and say, Italy is free and united; it remains for us to make her great, prosperous and happy."[2] His was a just estimate of the situation, as fifty years of Italian unity have demonstrated.

The old and the new.—The observer, catching the spirit of the Italian people up and down the land, feels that here is a young people, detached from its past, with new aspirations, striving within and without Italy to take its "place in the sun" in a modern day. But the student of history knows that civil progress is achieved only by pain and travail. The dead hand of olden days has ever been present to stay social progress. Italy was an old land, with a complicated system of hoary usages, not a new land of infinite resources with institutions and customs still being established, as in America. Moreover, in the material development of modern life, everything was to be done, especially in the south, which was called upon to jump from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century at a bound.

Part III

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In laying economic foundations and in evolving new social institutions, what success has Italy had in

[2] Quoted, *Our Italian Fellow Citizens,* F. E. Clark, p. 31.

DANTE ALIGHIERI

Memorial to the Poet, by Abbate, at the Waterbury Italian School of Dante, Waterbury Connecticut. Dedicated on the 600th anniversary of his death, October 16th, 1921.

fifty years? The following picture largely restricts itself to those people and provinces contributing to the immigrant current pouring into the United States, and treats not so much of contemporary conditions, modified by war, as of the generation preceding.

Industrial problems and progress.—The growth of industry and the laying of railways began in a modest way in the north while the Kingdom of Sardinia was composed only of Piedmont and Liguria, and Lombardy and Venice were still under the rigorous Austrian. And although coal, ore and wood are deficient throughout the peninsula, industry has made substantial progress as far south as Tuscany and the Roman provinces, and less noticeably and much more recently in certain urban districts of the Meridionale and Sicily. A splendid system of railways, built by or ultimately acquired by the State, is now fairly complete. Only abundant and cheap labor, captained by splendid engineering skill, could have made possible their construction throughout a mountainous land, but it added a huge item to the public expense and the public debt which came over from the wars of Independence. Where capital has made it possible, water-power, of which there is an abundance, has been harnessed, and furthers manufacturing and transportation. Such development is found chiefly in the north, but Italy lacks capital and her well-to-do often lack the courage to risk their means, as capital is risked in business in other countries. A great development took place in industry during the war. But Italian industry has been largely, and is to date, handicraft of a specialized and artistic nature.

Standard of living of Italian workman.—In proportion to the frugal standard of living, the Italian workman has been well paid except in the Venetian provinces where he rarely makes more than three

francs a day. Wages have varied greatly in various localities, but so has the cost of living. War and post-war wages have been three and four times the previous scale, but the cost of life, though scanty and poor, has risen to a dizzy height. Summing up, it may be said of town life in Italy, that twenty-five years ago it was cheap, and from that time to the chaotic conditions of the war had grown gradually dearer.[3]

During her fifty years of national life Italy has been an agricultural people, and preëminently so in the south. The condition of the peasant population has produced in Italy its gravest problems.

The peasants.—By "peasantry" we mean the inhabitants of the rural towns without major industries. They may be tillers of the soil, or of various trades, but all make a better or worse living as agriculture thrives in their district, or is adequate to support the population.

Agriculture in the north.—Both in agriculture and in industry northern Italy has had superior advantages over the south. Its peasantry were never reduced to the poverty and barbarism of the south, but profited from better markets, growth and organization. Agriculture is profitable there, and the people contented. These provinces, even during the war, were so rich in production that they felt no pinch of the scarcity of food from which all the rest of Italy was suffering. In general the character of the rainfall and other climatic conditions allow a wide choice of crops, and vigorous growth, on a soil responsive to fertilizer.[4] Much land has been reclaimed or improved through irrigation and terracing, rural coöperation has made great advance, and rural credits have been established and

[3] Bagot, *Italians of To-day,* pp. 52, 62.
[4] Foerster, *Italian Emigration of our Times,* p. 107.

combined with a system of expert agriculture (for example in the neighborhood of Verona), judged by many economists to be the best in the world.

Defects.—We are here concerned, however, not with the perfection of agriculture so much as those defects and inadequacies of it which have provoked emigration. In the foothills of the Alps, the cold is intense and the season of enforced idleness long, and much of the land through its mountainous nature is unproductive. Sometimes the yield is not worth the labor involved. The summer in certain sections is so deficient in rainfall that irrigating works must be maintained. Inheritance customs, etc., have brought about extreme subdivision of the land into parcels too small to provide a living income for a normal family. Absentee landlordism (as, for instance, in lower Lombardy where absentee landlords hold about 90 per cent of the land) (Foerster, page 111) has a vicious effect in itself, and through certain types of rent contracts has kept down the enterprise and prosperity of the tenant farmer, while the hired laborer has known years during the period lately passed when there was sheer insufficiency of food. Especially has this been true of the Veneto. At times the disease of pellagra has added to the misery. Taxes, increasing even previous to the war, have been heavy, although better distributed than in the Meridionale.

Agriculture in the south.—Turning to southern Italy and Sicily, we find that life has been even more difficult than in the north. Naples, situated in the district of Campania, Palermo, located in the lovely Conca d'Oro (Golden Shell)—two of the garden spots of the world, and producing several crops per annum—give to the foreign observer a false idea of the fertility and agricultural success of the south and Sicily, in general. But nature is by no means wholly favorable, and where intelligence and capital

have essayed to supply her deficiencies, they have often met conditions they were powerless to remedy.[5]

Defective physical conditions.—The primary impediment is the lack of rainfall. The vista of hills, mountains and plains covered with grain in early spring, makes the land seem still to be the great granary that it anciently was, but there is the summer drought which may endure up to seven months, when the land in large part is valueless except for the picking of goats, and which, in general, reduces the variety in crops. At such times the grass of Sicily is a lifeless brown and it is necessary to go long distances for drinking water. Such a soil reduces the value of fertilizer, which in turn if dependent on animals is deficient, because great herds of cattle cannot exist. These conditions have been aggravated by deforestation which has on the one hand exposed the denuded mountains to erosion and consequent landslides, and on the other the fertile valleys to inundation by the spring torrents, leaving gravel and debris over the most fertile parts of the valley bottoms. In 1878 nearly half the area under water in valleys deficient in drainage was in the Basilicata, Calabria and Campania.[6] Great projects of reforestation and rectification of the streams (delayed by the war, and requiring millions of capital) have only been taken in hand in recent years. Another great discouragement to agriculture has been the malaria due to the swamps and pools remaining from the spring floods, and as rampant in the nineteenth century (until the government of united Italy was able to take up the problem), as in any age. Intelligent understanding of the menace, and measures both for its elimination and treatment of the sick

[5] Foerster, p. 49.

[6] *Resultati del l'inchiesta sulle condizioni igieniche,* pp. 48, quoted by Foerster.

through a government distribution of quinine, have had very beneficial effects. In 1912 barely 3,100 persons died of the disease, but as late as the year 1887 21,000 succumbed. Though Lombardy has had, among the northern provinces, a wide prevalence of the disease, the deaths in the Basilicata in 1901-05 averaged fifty times as many in proportion to its inhabitants as those of Lombardy. Malaria abounds in the central and coast region of Basilicata and Calabria.[7] Beyond the impediment to agriculture of a sick population, the necessity of living upon the hills and going long distances to cultivate the fertile lowlands has been a graver obstacle.[8]

Defective methods.—In the Meridionale and Sicily, the three elements to be noted in the agricultural system are the large estates, extensive cultivation, and primitive instruments and practices. Reforms in land tenure and the abolition of feudalism before 1870 did not bring land into the hands of the poor. When the new government sold off the lands of the ecclesiastical establishments, much of it went to persons already in easy circumstances, and much of it later passed to the large proprietors when the poor were forced to sell to escape interest charges and taxes. A great opportunity was lost when, "in a region where agriculture was a paramount source of wealth, the mere possession of a large estate continued to supply an all-sufficient income to the possessor."[9]

Landlords and peasants.—It has been calculated on the returns of the census of 1901, that three-eighths of the landlords of the Basilicata, two-fifths of those of Calabria and two-thirds of those of Sicily were absentees, living in Naples, Palermo or the provincial capitals, and rarely or never visiting

[7] Foerster, p. 60.
[8] Foerster, p. 62.
[9] Foerster, pp. 65-68.

their estates. The agent, or factor, has been all powerful. Another characteristic figure has been the great leaseholder, called in Sicily the *gabelotto.* Often he has been little more than a speculator in leases. Land is leased for one or usually a few years by the peasants, individually or sometimes collectively, and although they are good bargainers, they have often been forced to accept conditions which secured the proprietor in his return but left the peasant with little return, especially if the harvest were bad. This has not made for efficient agriculture, either in maintaining the soil in good condition or in introducing modern machinery. Often the peasant has considered the use of machinery an attempt "to go ahead of the Eternal Father, who therefor punishes him with bad harvests."[10] Myriads of small plots are cultivated not by the plow, often primitive enough, but by the *zappa,* a heavy mattock. Methods of making oil and wine have frequently been defective. To sum up—neglect of their interests by proprietors; contracts which encourage exploitation of the soil; a general failure to return profits to the land and make betterments are the great obstacles to successful agriculture in the south and Sicily. They have probably complicated agriculture and the life of those dependent upon it more than intractable natural conditions.[11]

Standard of living in the south.—According to the census of 1901 "in the Basilicata a quarter of the agricultural population, in Calabria and Sicily a sixth, are persons who cultivate lands of their own, a much lower proportion than in Central and Northern Italy."[12] Of these proprietors a great

[10] Quoted by Foerster from V. di Somma, *Dell'Economia rurale nel Mezzogiorno,* Nuova Antologia, March 16, 1916.

[11] Foerster, p. 82.

[12] Quoted, Foerster, p. 83.

majority own small or diminutive plots. Only in an occasional locality of great fertility has the small proprietor been conspicuously successful. In Sicily very few can live by merely working their own lands. The survivors of the holders of the distributed ecclesiastical lands have had to struggle with payments on onerous mortgages. The share-cultivation, mentioned as widely in vogue, has not been found adapted to southern conditions. The few big tenant farmers, the Sicilian *gabelotti* especially, have been markedly successful. But undertenants, the more numerous group, have been an abject class.[13] Most miserable of all, the residuum of the population, making up half the cultivators in the Basilicata and two-thirds of them in Calabria and Sicily, are the hired laborers. They are especially miserable when engaged by the day, as three out of four of them are. At the time of the Parliamentary investigation, in 1877, their wages (to this day paid largely in kind) were one to one and a half francs per working-day, with an extra franc daily in the harvest period and as little as half a franc per day in the slack season. In a recent study in 1911, the usual wage in the upper Basilicata is stated to be 1.50 francs and food, or 2.20 francs without food, with unemployment general in January and February. In interior Sicily, 1.80 francs per day may be earned for 150 to 200 days, with a better wage on the coast.[14] On the peninsula the women engage in the exhaustive toil of the fields. In Sicily they are allowed to do this much less, but boys of fourteen go to work too soon, and in the notorious case of the sulphur mines have been allowed to be exploited in a sort of slavery for a sum of 100 to 200 francs, a slavery which has been often but little better morally than economically.

[13] Foerster, p. 84.
[14] Foerster, p. 85.

The cry of exploitation rising generally from the agricultural workers was well substantiated by the famous Baron Sonnino (*La Sicilia in 1876,* II 253 ff., noted by Foerster) early in the union of Italy. Up to the exodus of emigration, the tenant farmer was almost always in the inferior position for bargaining. The day laborer, unskilled and unorganized, was even worse off, and obliged to accept the wage which he supposed was the highest he could get. At times rents have not been adjusted to prices, and *always* to the tenant cultivator's disadvantage.

Feudalism and taxes.—The former feudal and communal rights of gathering wood, food, stone, etc., have continued to disappear. The writer was in a Sicilian village where occasionally the grand proprietors allowed the *contadini* to gather fagots on their lands but occasionally had one arrested and fined to show their whip hand. The heavy taxes in Italy have been aggravated in the south by inequalities in assessments of agricultural property estimated according to ancient bases, and tax reforms penetrate there last. Government monopolies, internal custom duties, put great burdens on the people, and we shall see that only a part of the tax revenue gets back to the people in easing the burden of communal life.[15] The necessarily frugal life of the people, sometimes desperately so because of their poverty, we shall discover as we note the social conditions.

Emigration in general.—One of the principal economic and social phenomena of Italy is emigration. It has been one of the chiefest migrations of modern times. Although emigration from the south was severely prohibited during the first decades of the nineteenth century, it has freely gone on from

[15] Foerster, pp. 88-93.

the North during the whole period since the struggle for united Italy began. It was considerable to other countries than the United States in the early decades, and to them the outflow since 1860 has risen to a great stream. The total number of recorded emigrants for the thirty-eight years, 1876-1914, is about fourteen millions, although only 4,000,000 have permanently remained.[16] Huge numbers have gone to Brazil and Argentina. After 1886 the stream overseas to the Americas came to surpass all other currents. Important to note, and perhaps surprising to many people, is what a rival Argentina has been to the United States in Italian immigration, having received from 1857 to 1914 2,274,379 persons.[17]

To the United States.—Only thirty Italians came to the United States in 1820. The great migration, 1887 to 1916, brought 3,984,976 (Foerster, p. 17), while 2,109,974 of these came during the decade 1906-1916, 333,231 northern Italians, the rest from the south and Sicily. From 1871 on, the date of the beginning of larger migration from the south, there has always been a larger or smaller return movement, and a reëmigration on the part of some to the United States. The largest number of Italians returning from the United States to Italy since 1906 was 167,335 in 1908, the smallest number, 9,176, in 1918.[18] Italian students of the problem in the United States usually agree that about two-thirds eventually emigrate to the United States permanently. Prof. Mangano estimated in 1917 that, taking into account the necessary vital statistics, there were in the United States 3,500,000 Italians and their children born in the country.[19]

[16] Foerster, pp. 8, 42.
[17] Foerster, p. 16.
[18] Foerster, p. 31.
[19] Mangano, *Religious Work among Italians in America*, p. 5.

Causes.—The causes as already suggested of this exodus to the United States are overwhelmingly economic. This is true in large part as well of the return and reëmigration movements. The well known observer of Italian life, Luigi Villari, received from Italian workmen building the Simplon tunnel, in answer to his question whether they loved their country, the reply, "Italy is for us whoever gives us our bread."[20] Italian emigrants love their native land, but nevertheless it is true that in the whole migration they have been thrust forth from her by dire economic necessity. The land is neither sufficient nor sufficiently well cultivated to support the large population. In the whole total the adventurous or persecuted element has been negligible. The northern Italians, more literate, more self-governing, of a higher standard of life, have felt their harsh economic condition more keenly, their right to a better, and have sought to remedy their misery by going far afield. But all Italy to a lesser degree has felt this stirring of life, and this economic revolt. Industrial Europe and the new world has provided them economic slaves, an economic opportunity.

Early comers.—In the United States, besides a small group of cultured, political refugees (witness the stay here of Giuseppe Garibaldi), the first comers were the fruit and oil merchants, the sailors of Italian ports, peddlers of statuettes, organ-grinders, and stone-cutters. In 1880 a maximum of 20,000 were in New York. Meanwhile the stories of the "fabulous" opportunities in America had penetrated the country districts, and many thousands were following the earlier comers from their own villages to work in the construction enterprises incident to our great industrial expansion which became so prodigious in the decade 1900-1910.

[20] Foerster, p. 22.

Type of immigration to the United States.—The relatively small proportion of northern Italians to the sum total emigrating to the United States (about 1 in 6 in 1910), and the unskilled character of the immigration in general is due not alone to conditions in the old country, but to the unequal opportunity which America offers to the different classes of Italian society. America has not wanted, save in exceptional trades and professions, the skilled worker or professional man. Handicapped by ignorance of English, by the lack of a welcome, by methods of work diverse from his own, the skilled worker or professional man can only hope to find a meager opportunity in Italian colonies or sink into unskilled work. For years Italian consuls have discouraged professional immigration, often being obliged to repatriate persons of ability, penniless and disillusioned. The writer, even after consultation with the local consul, was obliged to tell an expert Italian accountant recently come from Italy that there was no place to offer him in his line in an American city of 100,000 full of such business and with an Italian colony of 14,000. Such persons, and northern Italians more largely, have preferred to exploit the new lands of Argentina and Brazil where the language is cognate and a new Italian civilization offering opportunity to all professions has been founded.

Immigrants of the lower trades have been increasing where their trades are largely required by their fellow-countrymen, or they can speedily adapt themselves to the American requirements. Such are stone-cutters, mechanics, mariners, masons, barbers, seamstresses, and shoemakers. Their participation in American life is well known. But by far the greater number of Italian immigrants have been laborers, usually from half to two-thirds of the total. Entirely sensitive in their swelling or diminishing

numbers to the need or surfeit of them in American enterprise, it has been an easy thing for men whose work has been chiefly done with the mattock to wield in America the pick and shovel.[21]

Permanence.—It is this group, in which the greatest proportion are males, which in the last thirty years have made up four-fifths of Italian emigration to the United States. It is also this group which makes up the majority of those who return to Italy within five years of their arrival here. The practice of coming first to America, then returning for wife or relatives for permanent settlement, has been quite widespread, but in recent years the increasing temporariness of Italian immigration has interfered greatly with this cycle. Indeed southern Italy has been spoken of as the land "where going to America is a business."[22]

By locality.—As influencing the character of immigration and assimilation of immigration to America it is interesting to know its movement by locality in Italy. The man from the Abruzzi is a different type from the Neapolitan, and he from the Basilicata is of diverse temperament from the immigrant of Calabria and Sicily. The mountains of the Basilicata furnished a permanent emigration to the United States a half century ago, while in certain coast areas emigration is still in its first stages. The hill sections of that province and of Calabria then became involved, the province of Palermo only in Sicily, and a section of Italy, beginning in the Naples plain and extending eastward through Benevento, Avellino and the Molise, was contributing a considerable immigration before 1900, to be followed afterwards by the remainder of Sicily and the Abruzzi.[23]

[21] Foerster, pp. 330, 343.
[22] Warner, *Nat'l Geog. Mag.*, Vol. 20, p. 1062.
[23] Foerster, pp. 102-104.

Outlook for future emigration to United States.—What is the outlook for future emigration to the United States? Emigration during these post-war years has consisted largely of Italian reservists returning to the United States or of members of families of those already here. Emigration from all classes is held in check by political travel factors, and by coming into force of the literacy test and the three per cent law. The contemporary economic conditions in Italy are very bad, and the old evil general conditions remain and can only very gradually be bettered. Population has not decreased in Italy but increased during the war and in comparison with other European countries, the man-power of Italy was very little damaged during the war. Workers then are the only large asset Italy has to exchange for the capital absolutely essential to her recovery and development. Europe close at hand will make a strong bid for these workers. With her need for manual laborers every day more apparent, it would seem that the United States will also make her bid. And if, despite this, the literacy test be continued, it is probable that steps will be taken in Italy to prepare candidates to meet it. As for the thought of the population in the mind of all classes, the United States, due to the tangible services of her government, the Red Cross, and the Y. M. C. A. during the war has become far better known and popular than ever before. The expression on many tongues to visitors from the United States is: "Beati voi che siete in America"—"Lucky people you are to be in America." Whole sections of the population would pull up stakes and come here in a body if they could.

Part IV

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

We are now to review the social conditions in Italy since its union and more particularly of those which have been the emigration classes.

Social classes.—Socially, as politically, the Italians are a modern people emerging from a backward past. Ancient usage and modern science are seen side by side, depth of ignorance and scholarship. The contrasts are great. Recently an Italian lady of gentle breeding come to America remarked upon the fact that her host introduced her to his butcher as one of his familiar friends. Such a thing could never happen in Italy where classes are fixed. A man of another class is either a superior or an inferior. During the Great War the excellent relationship of officers and men in the Italian army was not the relationship of equals submitting to discipline in a common task as in the American Army, but at its best the paternal relation, of a father who leads and encourages, of sons who follow and obey. There is the aristocracy of birth or achievement, the upper middle class of professionalists, officials, officers, and students, the lower middle class of "artisans" who are of the trades and the laborers, in the country called *contadini.* In the south there is no middle class, there are the proprietors, called *signori* and the peasants or *contadini*—in the Neapolitan dialect, *cafoni.*

Influence of great landowners.—The influence of the aristocracy upon the life of the country districts through the common absenteeism has been an evil one. However there have been exceptions where the great lords have exercised almost the medieval paternal relation to their *contadini* as in certain

parts of Calabria.[24] Changes in social conditions have come rather through the government which is centralized in a thorough way. Largely initiative has lain with the central government which then inspires or operates through the provincial capitals and so down to the communes. For example the local *sindaco,* or mayor, while elected by the people is removable by the national government for cause.

Suffrage.—Not until 1911 did universal manhood suffrage, previously limited by property or degree of culture, come into being. In the south it doubled, tripled and in some places quadrupled the number of voters.[25] This was possible only through the decline of illiteracy. The growing literacy of the population has perhaps been the greatest social factor, causing healthy discontent, progress and spirit of enterprise, leading to emigration.

Illiteracy.—In 1911 37.6 per cent of the population of Italy over 6 years of age were illiterate; in the Abruzzi, Sicily, Basilicata and Calabria the percentages were respectively 58, 58, 65 and 70.[26] In 1901 there were 18,186,353 illiterates according to census; in 1917 Prof. Mangano reported an estimate of 7,000,000.[27] Hence we see why, even to-day, although it is a steadily increasing proportion, only 60 per cent of Italian immigrants could be admitted to the United States under the literacy law.[28]

Elementary education.—The reduction of illiteracy has been substantial. What has been done and what has not been done is an index of what the elementary schools, consisting of six grades, have been and have not been in this emigration period. United Italy adopted a system of national educa-

[24] Bagot, *My Italian Year,* p. 277.
[25] *Annuario Statistico Italiano,* 1912, p. 74.
[26] *Censimento, 111,* p. 230, quoted Foerster, p. 515 note.
[27] *Sons of Italy,* p. 59.
[28] Clarke, *Our Italian Fellow Citizens,* p. 164.

tion but left it to local provision and control. And towards it under the feudal ideas and ideals obtaining, the rural communes and their administration were often, in the earlier years, either hostile or indifferent. Further legislation has compelled these to be active, and would enforce attendance at school and prevent the employment of children under fifteen in factories. But local sentiment often allows these provisions to be nullified to a great degree. Also elementary education, as in some other countries, receives a niggardly proportion of public finances. Schools are not enough in number or sufficiently manned for the huge numbers of young Italy. The school buildings are often ill-adapted and ill-equipped dwelling houses or suppressed convents. "The great majority of the teachers are high-minded men and women, who, poor, and overworked, make a noble effort to inform and moralize their truant scholars. . . . If one may judge from inspectors' reports, arithmetic is the only subject taught at all well in the average school. A great deal of time is necessarily occupied in teaching good Italian to children who only speak their own dialect, and to whom the literary tongue is almost a foreign language. The quality of the writing may be judged from the fact that 'calligraphy' is a separate subject only taught in the upper standards. After the elementary subjects, and a smattering of natural science taught incidentally with them, the acquirements of the rural scholar stop short." [29]

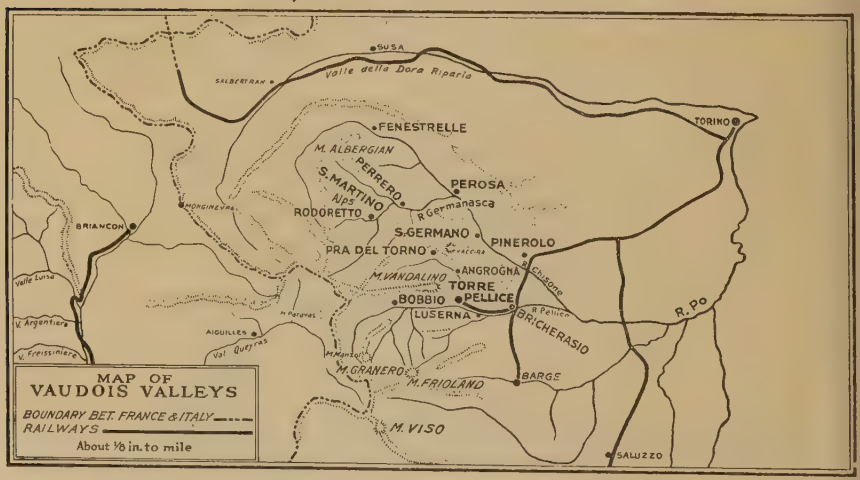
Education in morals.—Anything of a dogmatic bias is carefully excluded from the school in theory. But various authorities testify to the excellence of the moral teaching. An inspection of reading books reveals how skillfully this is worked out in reading material which deals with the pupil's daily life and

[29] Clarke, *Our Italian Fellow Citizens,* p. 162, quotation from unstated source, careful, but not unprejudiced.

A PUBLIC LAUNDRY BASIN

PRIMITIVE IRRIGATING PLANT

THE COTTIAN ALPS



MAP OF THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS

surroundings. Evidently educational authorities are more and more awake to their opportunity, but greatly hindered by lack of means.

Above the elementary school is the *ginnasio* with a five year course corresponding in part to our high school, and in turn above this is the *liceo* with a three year course. At the top of the educational scale are the twenty-one universities of Italy.

Further movements.—A movement of significance is the addition of agricultural teaching to the course of the elementary schools along with new specialized schools, or courses in the higher schools, in the subject.

The education of military life.—The compulsory military service affords for youths of the lower classes a great deal of instruction. With certain exceptions all who reach the age of twenty must serve two years, and formerly three years in the army or navy, and afterwards fulfill the duties of a reservist. Offering a pay that is negligible, this service entails a large sacrifice. In recent years the physical training, discipline, character of service, opportunity to see Italy and inducements to study, result in great benefit to the raw youth from the country. The system in vogue develops his patriotism without at all leading him to be militaristic.

A northern village.—Further study of the life of rural Italy emptying itself in emigration best takes the form of the description of a composite small town. A village in the province of Alessandria, northern Italy, lies alongside of an irrigating canal and a row of tall poplars, just off the provincial road that Napoleon caused to be built. It has sent a number of families both to the United States and South America within a generation. Laborers' houses of stone and stucco are crowded close together around the parish church. Many families live on the second

floor, using the first for farm produce, wood, animals, or poultry. In one is the school, in another the store, which is the local government agency for salt. There is a café, serving coffee and drinks, the resort of the village. The most pretentious of the houses is the *municipio* or city hall, housing the post office, offices of the government and quarters of the *carabinieri,* or national police.

A small fraction of this population only lives at the center; the rest live in the *cascine* or farmhouses half concealed in the hedge-rows, vineyard-orchards, and fields dotted with mulberry trees which serve the silkworm industry. These *cascine* consist of a combination stone house, barn and fodder loft with farmyard, chicken-coop, and outdoor oven. Traffic converges in the large town at no great distance, which is at once a trading and distributing, banking and administrative, and to a degree industrial and railroad center, plus the institutions which flourish in a larger center of population.

A southern town.—In sketching a composite town in the Meridionale, I have in mind specific towns and villages in each of the great emigration producing provinces. In the south there are no farmhouses nor living upon the farms. All live in towns, a habit due to Italian gregariousness and the need of protection from tyrant and bandit, existing not so very long ago. The town is located upon the summit or spur of the hill, and at a distance the tiers of houses often give the impression of a settlement of cliff-dwellers. However it will have thousands of population where one would guess hundreds. To it, through fields and terraces sprinkled with olive trees and vines, many irregular foot paths ascend, and in this modern day one fine road, which allows automobile mail and passenger service from the distant station. These necessarily serpentine highways

have been constructed with infinite labor during the last decades, but have put thousands of isolated towns with a large total of population into touch with the outside world. This road becomes the winding main street of the town from which branch off many rocky lanes, mostly impassable for carriages.

The piazza. It ends in the piazza or square, a large space, usually well paved, and clean, with benches and perhaps a fountain and stubby peppertrees for shade. Opening upon it are the institutions, like those of the northern Italian village, with the "opera house" (if there is one), a church and a primitive hotel. Sometimes the "mother church" is at the top of the town along with the remains of the mediæval castle. Nearby is the school, a macaroni factory, and most probably a convent. At the tail of the village is the village fountain, the common source for water, and the washing vats if a brook is not handy by. In times of epidemic the government enforces drastic measures upon an ignorant population with regard to this fountain.

The houses.—The houses are of weather-worn stone or stucco with few windows. Those of the poor have one room, paved with dirty flags, the walls well smoked from the fire-place. There are a few rude pieces of furniture, mostly chests, besides an enormous bed, clean, comfortable, embroidered, the housewife's pride. In these modern days a Singer sewing machine may be seen. The small folks sleep in a trundle bed, but the rest of the family sleep in the loft above. The donkey is stabled in the cellar below. Families better-to-do have more rooms perhaps opening out on a yard or court. In such a town a landslip is more to be feared than fire. Drainage is into the gutter and toilet facilities for the most part are lacking.

The people.—The streets of the more remote vil-

lages give one the impression of chicken runs. Life is at the door, with babies, pigs, chickens and household operations indescribably mingled; life of the more public sort goes on in the piazza or cafés surrounding it. Costumes, except in isolated villages, or upon special occasions, are a nondescript, modern home-made. However the kerchief or cut of a woman's bodice, the man's shawl or stocking cap will reveal to the initiated the region and perhaps the village from which the person comes. In the piazza of an evening are to be seen the proprietor or his factor, the parish priest, the mayor, village doctor, the twin *carabinieri* in picturesque uniform, representatives of a service that has done much to unify and civilize rural Italy, a driver and carriage awaiting custom, a few soldiers stationed in the village or home on furloughs, knots of *contadini* or shepherds, playing children, and here and there a woman, going swiftly on an errand.

In the busy season the laborers are off long before day to the mountain to gather fuel, to the fields often at great distance, or with the flocks of sheep and goats. At the season's height they may not return till Saturday evening, remaining at night in the stone shed or some grotto.

Public standards.—Such a village will have very well-defined standards of morality and conduct, and customs quite different from those of another province or even from those of its nearest neighbor. Its inhabitants will distrust strangers, but public opinion is ruthless towards its own members who violate accepted ideals.

Family ties (and sponsors at baptism are considered as of the family) are exceedingly strong. The husband, and even more the grandfather, is lord in the family, and jealously guards it from invasion. Divorce is unknown. Children are welcomed, and six of them is a moderate family. Infant mortality

is high. Marriages are arranged. Daughters marry early, in succession and furnished with a dowry. If of a peasant family, all but the house mother work in the fields. Life is frugal and temperate, industry is great, savings are put by if it be in any way possible. The laziness of the Italian peasant is a myth due to his evident ability to rest in moments of leisure.

Moral values in north and south.—The southern Italian suffers in comparison with the northern, because of difference in racial characteristics and development. The northern Italian has more initiative, willingness to coöperate, organizing ability. He has also the vices of greater development, he is more sordid, more of a scoffer, more intemperate, and a more expert exploiter than the southerner. The southerner has the vices and virtues of a primitive people, gusty passions both of sex and temper, but vindictive only in certain provinces. There is no greater individualist than he, but he is shrewd, generous, hospitable, tractable, temperate, capable of great devotion, strong of body although often deformed by his excessive labor.

The Mafia.—In America, the Sicilian holds the most evil reputation of all Italian immigrants, because of the acts of the Black Hand. By nature, the Sicilian is among the most virile and independent of them all. But he has been, until late, the most suppressed and oppressed of them all, and that often under the cloak of law. The result is the Mafia, a society operating in secret, which by a strange, unwritten code of honor carries out with hot passion and savagery a system of "justice"(?) wholly outside the law. An expert, Baron Franchetti, says of it—"The Mafia is a union of persons belonging to every grade, to every profession, to every category, who, without possessing any apparent, continuous or regular tie in common, are nevertheless

always united for the furtherance of their reciprocal interests.

"With every consideration of law, justice, and public morals set aside, it is the mediæval sentiment of the individual who thinks that he himself can provide for the care and for the safety of his own person and of his possessions, by reason of his personal worth and influence, quite apart from any action of the authorities or of the laws." Such is the dangerous perversion of a fine racial quality. Quite aside from their backwardness, one is compelled to admire the stalwart qualities of the inhabitants of those provinces of Sicily where the Mafia is less prevalent, as fine stuff on which to build. Indeed their natural power has furnished a very large proportion of the public men who have conducted the affairs of United Italy.

Nationalism.—Each town in Italy has one or more streets named after the great men or events of the period of the union of Italy, preëminently after Garibaldi. The spirit of nationalism is fostered by the public schools, by the youths who return from military service, or from America, and by the higher element of the village; also by the newspapers, in which, in Italy, the editorial surpasses the news element. The population which thinks far enough afield is devoted to Italy, although it may be opposed to the government in power. Former wars have done something to consolidate national opinion. If at first Italy failed to appreciate the abstract, international ideals with which the upper classes thrust the country into the war, she was later quite able to appreciate the menace of the hated, invading Austrian.

"Campanilism."—Scenes were frequently to be witnessed at rural stations of peasant soldiers returning to the front who were obliged to thrust shrieking, moaning wives or mothers behind them

as the train moved out. What did these peasant women know of the great struggle to down German militarism or even comprehend the desire of Italy to free the irredente provinces? Their interests were limited literally by their sky line. So indeed it has been in this emigration period that the spirit of *campanilismo,* the spirit of dwelling under one's own church tower, has been the typical spirit of the peasantry and of others. Local interest was apt to occupy the whole horizon. The man even from the next town was a foreigner. Of coöperation there was little, support of the government enterprises was small. It has been justly said that *campanilismo* pulverizes political competence.

Dialects.—This state of affairs is due in no small degree to the prevalence of dialects. Some cities and each great province of Italy has its own dialect, a refined edition of which is often commonly used by the upper classes. National Italian is best when it is in "the Tuscan language in the Roman mouth," for the dialects of Milan, Bologna, Naples, and Sicily are utterly different from it and each other. Not only does this provincial diversity hold true but in very many districts the inhabitants of towns and villages within sight of one another vary widely in their language and customs.

Defective public opinion.—If there is individualism at the bottom of the social scale, there is also at the top. The result is the criticism that "an important factor in national life is still comparatively lacking in Italy—and this is public opinion . . . dormant . . . partly for want of definite guidance, and partly because it possesses no real means of cohesion and expression."[30] There are no great political parties in Italy in the American sense, but until recently, merely ever-changing alliances of the most similar of a thousand shades of opinion. This has

[30] Bagot, *My Italian Year,* pp. 328, 329.

militated against the building up of many great newspapers, as organs of the people's thought. However under the stress of the war, these conditions have been rapidly changing and improving.

Socialism.—Many Italians who come to America are socialists. They come chiefly from among the northern Italians, but are also to be found more and more among immigrants from the Meridionale, due to the great growth of that belief in the south. The strength of the party is due to dissatisfaction with the slowness and inefficiency with which reforms benefiting the lower classes are carried out, and on the other hand to the growth of great numbers of workmen and *contadini* to that point where socialistic propaganda is understood and read by them. Following on the after-war reaction from the government of the higher ranks during the war, they came into parliament in great force and were, indeed, for a term of months in power in the government.

Operation of post-war public opinion.—An Italian very significantly has noted the change and growth in public opinion in an estimate of the so-called "Fascisti," saying in substance: "The Italian government is really only an administrative organism to run the departments of public service, and the public at large looks upon it with suspicion if not with hostility as representative of the interests of patronage. The Italian people does not look to its government for civic leadership: it is frequently up in arms upon one issue or another while the government stands by as an idle spectator. Americans think that a revolution is brewing. Patriots seize Fiume, workers seize the factories, then suddenly, in a day or two, a week or two, everything is over. The revolution has not come off. The fact is that in every such case a great battle has been fought in Italian public opinion, and when each side has

shown its hand, demonstrated its power, the weaker side submits.

"The surprising weakness of socialist morale in the face of a determined onslaught from their opponents has virtually terminated the arrogance and insolence with which they had been for three years trampling the rights of the public under foot.

"Socialism has not been exterminated or even reduced in economic strength. . . . A great battle in public opinion has been fought outside of the government, and the battle has decided that communism in Italy is too weak in numbers and morale to cause any serious concern, while socialism to have any standing at all must continue as a party of progressive criticism which its saner elements have all along constituted."—Giuseppe Prezzolino, *The Fascisti,* in the *Century Magazine,* September, 1921.

Part V

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN ITALY

The Reformation in Italy.—More than is generally known the Protestant Reformation had strong adherents in Italy. Prof. Giovanni Luzzi said of it: "It began in literary circles and academies; gripped the most noted men famous for their doctrine, influence and descent; found its way into the Italian Courts, and thence descended to the army and among the people. Not a corner could be found in the peninsula where the Reformation had not its proselytes."[31] The circumstantial reasons for its violent death after half a century, were the flame and sword of popes, the church councils, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition. In answer to the question, "Why did such a spontaneous movement not spread, with fruits and results as in other countries?" the follow-

[31] Luzzi, *The Struggle for Christian Truth in Italy,* p. 82.

ing reasons are offered:[32] the Renaissance undermined religious sentiment by doubt and indifference, and revived paganism; the institution of the papacy killed faith, leaving only pompous rite and ceremony; as the only spiritual and moral unity of the peninsula, the papacy continued to flatter the racial conceit of the people; on a lower level, self-interest was pleased to continue the inflow to Italy of the wealth attracted by the papacy; and finally the reform began in high places, not among the masses, and did not grip the people.

A heritage of irreligion.—The failure of the Reformation brought about the political and religious submergence of Italy, and the monstrosity of the Vatican as it is to-day. It has led to the oft-repeated charge that the Italians are a people without essential religion. One has put it in the words: "Italy is divided into unbelievers and lukewarm believers."[33] "The hurricane of the French Revolution carried away from the mind of even the best that small remnant of religion which they no longer possessed in their hearts."[34]

During the years that the unity of Italy was coming into being, the popes were almost continually in violent reaction to it. The 20th of September,—anniversary dearest to Italian hearts,—continually recalls the entrance of the army of United Italy into Rome, compelled to fight papal soldiers. The result is that to the greater portion of the population religion, confounded with ecclesiasticism, is odious. It accounts also for the fact that a million persons stated themselves in the census of 1915 as without religion.[35]

[32] Ibid., pp. 88-97.

[33] Ferdinand Martini, quoted by Sartorio, *Religion of the Italians,* p. 75.

[34] Luzzi, p. 190.

[35] *Annuario Statistico Italiano,* 1915.

Population divided religiously.—However, since the numerical force of the Protestants and other bodies is negligible, the forty millions of people in Italy are to be considered nominally Roman Catholic. Religiously the population has been divided into three classes: 1. The devout Roman Catholics, the majority of whom consist of peasants, largely illiterate, plus the decreasing "black aristocracy," or noblemen who give themselves to an ecclesiastical career, and the clergy. 2. A smaller number of freethinkers, agnostics, atheists, and materialists, for the most part workingmen in large cities and professional men. 3. The millions, apparently indifferent who go through life without religious feeling or spiritual experience. Such a summary recalls to mind the description of Mazzini, himself the heart and conscience of the struggle for Italian unity: "We have dragged ourselves along in abjectness and impotence, between the superstition imposed upon us by habit, or by our governors, and incredulity." [36]

There is no aspect of Italian life which reveals more than the religious, that vortex of motive and counter-motive which renders the Italian character so difficult of understanding by Anglo-Saxons.

Complexity of Italian character as seen in religion.—"Religion survives in a dilettante way: first through pride in the accident of Rome's hegemony of a once powerful sect, next through an innocent pleasure in glittering altars and pretty processions. But the crowd's attitude is formal or patronizing rather than reverent. All hats are doffed at the passage of the image, but that does not exclude the laughing chatter. The churches are fairly well filled by a large percentage of women. . . . In the south at least there is a serious, sometimes

[36] Quoted, Sartorio, p. 96.

fanatical attachment to the Roman creed. . . . The whole people will always support the state when it comes in conflict with the church. . . . All of which enforce my argument that there is a subtlety in Italian simplicity, a shrewd side to every Italian deal. Sharp wits amount to intuitions."[37]

Attitude of the peasant.—Recently many of the peasants have become antireligious socialists, and their last condition is worse than their first, "anything but desirable elements of a state."[38] The attitude of the average Italian peasant to the church is as follows: He is "superstitious up to a certain point—but only up to the point where superstition does not clash with his own interests . . . an example of the marvelous power of Latin Catholicism . . . in dealing with the complex mental attitude of the Italian peasant classes . . . the Italian peasant has a vein of the most profound skepticism running through his nature. It is not a question of how much, but how little he believes in anything at all, except possibly in a Supreme Being." There are those who point to the enthusiasm of the peasants for their religious processions, their devout attendance at mass, and their determination to uphold certain observances and practices. . . . In my own district, as in countless others in Italy, the peasant will sometimes pay several francs for the honor of a prominent place in one of the processions in honor of the Madonna; and if they cannot pay in money they will pay in kind, sending to the priest chickens, grain and wine. . . . The very peasant who is victimized does not hesitate to express the most profound skepticism and even contempt for miraculous Madonnas, and all the rest of the priestly myths: occasionally, but very rarely, I have met with a simple faith that was evidently genuine."

[37] Herbert Vivian, *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 104, p. 556.
[38] Bagot, *The Italians of To-day*, p. 67.

The church a business.—The peasant is part of a community which for generations has centered around the parish church. He knows the advantages which must accrue to him by supporting the local sanctuary and the particular attractions which that sanctuary may possess. In the first place, it is largely to his interest to keep in with the parish priest, who is very often a peasant like himself. As likely as not he will give vent to language of a wholly irreligious kind when he is called upon to contribute of his hard-earned money to the glory of the local Madonna, and he cherishes no sort of illusion as to where that money eventually finds its way. But he would be roused to fury were the local Madonna to be held up to ignominy as a painted fraud. Such exposure would be bad for trade. The power which had attracted the country folk from far and near to the little village or town would have departed and with it would disappear the frequent pilgrimages during which many an opportunity for doing business had presented itself. . . . I doubt not that with all his skepticism and notwithstanding his more material object in supporting the superstitions of his native place, at the back of the peasant's mind there ever lurks a dim fear lest, after all, things might turn out to be as the priest pretended; and that, in this case, it would be as well to have something to the credit side in the Almighty's ledger.[39]

The upper classes share with the lower this pride in the church. The influence of a Protestant mission in a Sicilian provincial capital of the better sort was completely ruined because its pastor issued a pamphlet in which he held up the local patron saint to ridicule, and he was compelled to depart amid the fury of the population and the pity and contempt of the society of the town for his tactlessness. Many

[39] Bagot, *Italians of To-day*, pp. 44-46.

upper class Italians, even to-day, while they scorn the Vatican for its anti-nationalism, are yet secretly proud of the organized Roman Catholic Church as the unique product of the Italian genius.

Faith of the rural women.—Every devout family is anxious to have a son enter the priesthood. It is also true that simple faith or rather deep superstition is most regnant in southern Italy. Of church going there is less among men, but the women are very close to the church. And although priests and friars are commonly jeered at, and for cause, an able priest may clothe himself with very great power. Not many years ago a fanatic population, under the direction of priests hostile to the government, set upon and murdered two engineers who had been sent to close up the town fountain, source of an epidemic in the neighborhood. To the average woman the church is the church of her family for many generations. It is her "club," to which she may retire from her sordid home and hard labor for space, quiet, color, amusement of a sort, perhaps the only sort. Visions, miracles, images of saints, madonnas and adoration of relics abound. But all this, the lights of the candles, even the mystery of the unintelligible mass, fit into her ignorant nature, unspiritual, unthinking but feeling the rudely esthetic side of it all. During the eruption of Vesuvius in 1906, the populace of Naples became so nervous that they forced the city authorities and clergy to allow them to carry in procession the relics of their patron saint, Gennaro. That afternoon the wind veered, carrying the ash of the volcano away from the city. Within two hours the newspapers came out in special edition; in great headlines, "San Gennaro, our patron saint, has saved the city again." The next morning, at the market, one woman of the lower classes was overheard to remark to her companion, "Well, our saint has saved us again." The other shot back,

"He'd better have. It would have been worse for him if he hadn't."

Italians deficient in religious sentiment.—No one takes a more somber view of religion and the race than some Italians themselves. One has recently written, "Italians, the most gifted with vivacity of wit and splendid imagination, are the poorest and weakest of all peoples, religiously. . . . Indeed, the ideals of religion, of moral character, of duty and the like are only secondary features in the soul of the Italian. Conscience has a very limited power over him. He is almost incapable of voluntary discipline and moral austerity, and takes life at its easiest, satisfied to enjoy." This writer adduces many examples of this deficiency in their contemporary history, literature, art and thought, and notes the difficulty of him who would convert such a race to Protestantism.[40] He brings to our attention the significance of his contention that it is the race that have made the Roman Catholic Church, while noting that the lack of faith on the part of the Italians evidences also the utter spiritual and moral inefficiency of Roman Catholicism upon the national life of Italy.[41]

Religious assets: Waldensians.—If then we recognize the religious bankruptcy of Italy in these modern times, what assets are there on which to build in the future? Besides the tradition of such superlative religious leaders as Saint Francis, Savonarola, or men of such religious quality as Dante and Mazzini, there are currents in this present generation of religious life in Italy, vigorous and growing, if yet small. As they have sprung from Protestant influence, let us consider first the Protestant movements. The Waldensian Church, deci-

[40] Capozzi, *Protestantism and the Latin Soul,* pp. 141-167.
[41] Capozzi, *Protestantism and the Latin Soul,* p. 162.

mated by persecution during centuries because of the unstained purity of its faith, but preserved in the Cottian Alps of Piedmont, until this modern day, has become the native Protestant Church of Italy. Upon the acquisition of civil rights in 1848, she took upon herself the sacred duty of the evangelization of Italy. She now has under her administration 60 churches, 150 mission stations, 68 ministers, 10 evangelists and 6 colporteurs. There are a theological seminary with three regular professors, two high schools and a normal school, with twenty-one professors, and thirteen elementary schools with forty teachers.[42] There is an evangelistic weekly paper, and a theological review has been maintained along with other agencies of propaganda.

Other Protestant bodies.—As the fruit of an evangelical movement begun in Tuscany during the years of the Union of Italy, two types of churches other than the Waldensian remain, the first retaining but two churches, the second, "the Plymouth Brethren type," has churches in 20 towns and 68 smaller places. The Wesleyan Methodist Church has 37 churches and a goodly number of mission stations maintained by a corps of 40 ministers.[43] The American Methodist mission in Italy has 76 pastors and preachers; it also has a press and organs of propaganda, theological, secondary and industrial schools, and 6 elementary schools.[44] Anglo-Italian Baptists hold 56 churches and stations with 20 ministers.[45] American-Italian Baptists have 32 ordained Italian pastors, 46 churches and 70 out-stations, a theological seminary and strong publications. Their religious review, *Bilychnis,* has had

[42] Report of the Moderator, 1920.
[43] Luzzi, pp. 221, 222.
[44] Mangano, *Sons of Italy,* p. 90.
[45] Luzzi, p. 223.

large success and is very influential in promoting religious progress in Italy, in the modernist circle.[46]

These and other churches are united in a recently formed federation of evangelical churches. Other religious organizations are the Salvation Army, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the National Bible Society of Scotland, the Religious Tract Society for Italy, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Italian Sunday School Union, and the branch of the World's Student Christian Federation.[47] There exists the Savonarola Institute for converted priests under the direction of an interdenominational board of managers.

Strength of Protestantism.—Statistics which by no means represent the actual power nor influence for good of the Protestant work in Italy give but small numbers. "There are about 25,000 Protestant church members, a majority of whom are in the Waldensian valleys, about 200 church organizations and many more than that number of mission stations."[48] Or, as summed up by the census, there are more than 175,000 adherents of the evangelical faith in Italy. About 17,000 Sicilians and 15,000 Apulians call themselves Protestant. In the years 1901-1911, the number of those of the evangelical faith increased by one hundred per cent.[49] But Italian Protestant work has been of incalculable value. First of all it is significant that, where at one time there were suspicion and persecution, these have all but ceased, and evangelicals and their institutions are well received by the population. Public opinion has turned in their favor. Their good lives and character are noted.

[46] Mangano, p. 88.
[47] Luzzi, pp. 224, 225.
[48] Mangano, p. 94.
[49] *Annuario Statistico Italiano,* 1915, quoted by Sartorio.

The Bible and its growing power.—Many Italian Protestants cannot see any hope of reform in the Italian Catholic Church, believing that its destruction must precede anything better. But a larger proportion are watching and many have keen sympathy for the reform movement in the church which is called Modernism. This would seem to be, to a great if undefined extent, due to evangelical missions and evangelical propaganda, and outstandingly due to the work done now for a century in scattering the Scriptures throughout Italy. The earliest Italian version of the Bible was Malherbi's, translated from the Vulgate, in two volumes, Venice, 1471. It was revised in 1641, 1855, and 1884. Another version was by Antonio Bruccioli, Venice, 1532. The "authorized version" of the Bible, a revision of which, in the Old Testament as well as the New, is now approaching completion, was first translated from the originals in 1607 by Giovanni Diodati, and in a revised form in 1641. Antonio Martini was the author of the accepted Catholic version, translated from the Vulgate, the New Testament in 1769, the Old in 1776. For a long time the Vatican prohibited the reading of any version whatever, and Martini's edition has never been put before the public in attractive or convenient form. The issuance in 1902 of a popular finely edited translation of the New Testament by the Society of St. Jerome, with irenic spirit toward Protestantism, was at first fathered by the pope and was receiving large favor throughout the land, when after a few years the Vatican, alarmed by its liberalizing influence, caused the effort to die a lingering death. However, popular editions of a new translation of the New Testament from the originals, with simple notes, have been sponsored and widely disseminated by the Society Fides et Amor, having on its directorate members of all creeds. Thousands of copies of this as well

as of the Diodati version which as precious seed colporteurs have been sowing over Italy for several generations and of late years in the trenches, are now in the hands of the public and are bearing fruit.

Modernism.—In a time when socialism of the materialistic and atheistic sort, characteristic of Italy, is common, and also when the Vatican is in the field with a political party, what is the religious outlook for the future? The spectacular party of Modernists of the political, philosophical, hypercritical type is dead. The value of the first phase of the movement was that it demonstrated with tremendous power the need of reform in the Roman Church. But the soul of the movement lives and gathers force. Groups of sincere men continue to think and plan for the future. Their ideas penetrate the Vatican which is fighting a losing battle against all liberal movements in order to hold its autocratic power. The young seminarists are in a state of great unrest, and revolt against the antiquatedness of their teaching, for while Rome continues to make them her creatures in mind and thought, through a Prussian-like system, she continues unreformed. And although the majority of the rank and file of priests are immoral or ignorant or place-servers, there are worthy men in the lower places and men of liberal spirit working almost evangelically in high places.[50] Two recent happenings are evidence of the leaven in action. In the trenches, in contact with rude reality, many Catholic chaplains made use of Protestant Testaments and rituals, and as a result not less than seventy at one time were in correspondence with Prof. Luzzi concerning vital questions, philosophical, higher-critical, or of personal faith and practice. Since the war, Dr. Henry Pons, while pastor at Palermo and Waldensian superintendent

[50] Luzzi, Chapter VII.

for Southern Italy, has succeeded in organizing a league of prayer embracing not only the evangelical clergy, but about a third of the Roman Catholic priests of the island. Avoiding all doctrinal differences, this bands together all those who feel the need of a higher, purer, and more spiritual life. The league has a monthly bulletin, entitled *Fides* (Faith) which is growing to be a blessed factor in the life of many.[51]

Program of Protestantism.—In the Protestant churches there is a vigorous life and fair growth, although not such as to satisfy the leaders. As the then superintendent of the Southern District of the Methodist Episcopal Church said, "Our Italian Protestant missions are still in the seed-sowing period; the harvest is not yet." Finances in these times are a difficulty, and the movement in its various bodies is undergoing reorganization and expansion. Many leaders are dissatisfied with old methods, and this is being expressed in new plans looking to, firstly, a large use of social work, and secondly, novel and extensive organs of propaganda through printing. Meanwhile it is to be hoped that several important tendencies continue; the tendency to interdenominational coöperation and unity; the concentration of effort in strategic centers through the use of worthy edifices and efficient staff; the evangelization of hundreds of rural towns through the return of evangelized and emancipated emigrants to America, who have already planted Protestant families, missions and churches with their light and life throughout the emigration-giving provinces in the last twenty-five years.

[51] Report of Rev. Enrico Sartorio to the American Waldensian Aid Society, March, 1920.

Chapter II

THE IMMIGRATION AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF ITALIAN-AMERICANS

Part I

IMMIGRATION

Bearing in mind the causes and character of Italian immigration to the United States as previously stated, we now seek for the determining factors and character of the distribution of these new Americans.

Factors governing distribution in urban and metropolitan centers.—The determining factors are chiefly three: 1. The economic opportunity our country offers; 2. The immigrant's trade or training; 3. the location of kinsfolk or former neighbors. Where are the Italians located who form so great a proportion as ten per cent of our population of foreign birth? According to the census of 1920, in the state of New York there are 862,000 Italians; in Pennsylvania 351,000; in New Jersey 248,000; in Massachusetts 174,000; in Illinois 149,000; in California 139,000; in Connecticut 127,000; in Ohio 96,000; Rhode Island 51,000; Michigan 48,000; Louisiana 26,000; Missouri 23,000; West Virginia 22,000.[1] Such a table demonstrates that the Italian population is found where the great manufacturing and mining industries are in which they engage, and hence geographically they are to be found in the

[1] Figures include foreign born and those, one or both of whose parents were born in Italy.

New England, Middle Atlantic and East North Central sections. Outside of these, only Louisiana, because of the Italians of New Orleans, and California, because of the Italians of San Francisco, have large numbers of the race. Moreover four-fifths of the total is urban, and in no small degree metropolitan, when we consider the present Italian population of our larger American cities (including those, one or both, of whose parents were born in Italy): New York City 615,000, Philadelphia 100,000, Chicago 93,000, Newark 43,000, Boston 60,000, San Francisco 37,000, New Orleans 12,000, Jersey City 23,000, Pittsburgh 24,000, Providence 30,000, New Haven 23,000, Detroit 25,000, Cleveland 28,803, Baltimore 12,000, Rochester 30,000, Buffalo 27,000.[2]

Cause of the immigration to be found in economic expansion.—We have seen that it has become characteristic of Italian immigration to respond readily to economic expansion and contraction in the United States. The great mass of immigrants, for the most part farmers, used to the mattock, here find work with pick and shovel on those great construction enterprises which good times promote, and return to Italy for the winter, or for a longer period when work is lacking. "A relative or friend in mine, or work of factory construction, knows if there is a shortage of labor or a place for friend or relative from Europe. . . . The magnitude of the international and money order business of the United States together with the fact that the mass of immigrants go unerringly to the states where wages are highest and their services are in greatest demand, indicates the effectiveness of the system."[3] Limited by accessibility to the great centers, where the labor

[2] The Interracial Council figures of December, 1919.

[3] Sheridan, F. J., *Italian, Slavic, and Hungarian Unskilled Immigrant Laborers in the United States,* U. S. Bureau of Labor Bulletin No. 72, p. 408.

gangs are recruited, these laborers are to be found wherever operations are being conducted. One investigation which Sheridan reports, made in the early years of the century, revealed the larger part of 40,737 workers sent out to 14 northern states, where they were chiefly engaged in railroad building, and the rest to 12 southern states, where they went as cotton pickers, miners of phosphate rock, and cotton mill hands. In later years they have gone to construction work in the most remote sections of the United States and Canada. Sheridan also reported that of 100 laborers upon discharge, 10 per cent remain in the localities to which they are sent, 50 per cent go to the nearest large city, 40 per cent return to native land.

Later invasion of industries.—Having obtained a foothold through these migrations in construction work, and become oriented to a degree in American life, as the years have passed and especially as the war has stopped the "birds of passage," Italian immigrants have invaded a multitude of industries with a resulting relative fixity of residence which has made for the immigration of their families. In Massachusetts a state inquiry on "Race in Industry" as early as 1904, brought out the facts that of 10,956 Italians then in the state (of whom 92.33 per cent were males), in 13 classes of production in 58 different manufacturing industries, 34.52 per cent were in three classes as laborers; 13.73 per cent were in five subdivisions of trade; 7.58 per cent in personal service; 2.06 per cent in nine subdivisions of professions; 1.88 per cent in two branches of personal service; 1.83 per cent in three branches of transportation; 1.82 per cent in mining; .34 in government service; .31 in agriculture; .15 in fishing; 1.01 children at work.[4]

[4] Quoted by Sheridan.

Italians are found in large numbers in the metal trades, as for example in foundries, automobile factories, manufactories of cutlery and fixtures. They work in the lumber mills of the South and California, paper and wood pulp, rubber, glass, tobacco, oil and chemical, shoe and textile (except cotton) factories. They have invaded the clothing industry, rivaling the Jews since 1890 in New York and Philadelphia, Italian women being, respectively, two-thirds and one-half of those employed. They are in the glove, knit-goods, button, and artificial flower trades; in candy, paper-box, celluloid, and piano making; in laundries and canneries; but in such manufacturing and allied pursuits "natural aptitudes have counted but little, trained skill only a little, and physical strength to but a moderate degree. Not much knowledge of this country's speech has been necessary. New York State, the Connecticut Valley, and New Jersey, where the Italians are now the second immigrant group in point of numbers, have been the preferred regions. Italian women . . . have been exceptionally eager for employment and yet have held aloof from domestic service and commercial pursuits." [5]

In mining and building.—In mining they have attained a commanding position. In the bituminous coal industry the Immigration Commission found members of the race to be one-eighth of the entire working force. In 1910 there were 28,650 persons, born in Italy, in the three primary anthracite coal counties of Pennsylvania. They are in the metalliferous regions of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and of the far West; in the phosphate mines of the South; and with great success in northern stone quarries. In building trades they are less numerous because of competition, although relatively of

[5] Foerster, pp. 245-349.

large number, except as stone-cutters, masons, and of course as excavators. On public works, street-cleaning and street-building, and other public building enterprises, of small and of great magnitude, they are omnipresent and often have a monopoly of the work.

They have recently displaced other races as longshoremen; they have succeeded the Irish as unskilled labor on the railways, so great a system as the Pennsylvania reporting 13,500 on its rolls.[6]

Following the trade of the Fatherland.—A certain proportion of Italian immigration has not been compelled or attracted to work at other than their overseas trades, but has found its place in American industry at the old time occupations and therefore is often better distributed. Of such a sort are stone-cutters, mechanics, mariners, masons, barbers, seamstresses and shoemakers. The Italian barber is everywhere. In Philadelphia he almost monopolizes the trade. He is coming to be the leading shoemaker, and huckster, and is still the bootblack, the fruit-dealer, the stone-cutter, or musician even in the small town. Of Italians' service to Italians we shall speak in another connection.

The Italian in agriculture.—Relatively to the total, the Italians are few in number on the soil. The reasons universally ascribed for this fact are: the remembrance of former bitter experience in agriculture in Italy; the clinging to urban life as it was known there, and corresponding distaste for the solitude of the American farm; and the quick returns from industrial work as compared with the hard labor and slow returns from the farm. Against these motives the one-time campaign which American and Italian authorities seemed to have waged about fifteen years ago, and the plea of the social-worker

[6] Foerster, pp. 349-359.

who would solve the problem of Italian distribution in multiplied agricultural colonies, is of no avail. Gaining wisdom from experience, one writer on this phase suggested that "the solution of the problem of assimilating the Italian immigrant lies in establishing them in country districts where the climate and products are suited to their constitution and knowledge of farming, and in providing manufacturing plants with simple processes which will require the labor of their young people."[7]

Their initiation.—A valuable guide to the Italian immigrant lists the better known agricultural colonies in the United States.[8] Aside from a few definitely undertaken migrations from Italy for agricultural colonization, agricultural settlements have been founded in the following ways: 1. Members of construction gangs have remained in the vicinity where they were engaged, and have bought and improved land. 2. Groups migrate temporarily from the city to pick berries or hops, to cultivate tobacco or sugar cane, or, in the season, to can vegetables and fruits, and remain. 3. Market gardeners, usually South Italians, cultivate a vacant lot or pieces of land they have acquired in the neighborhood of cities.[9] North Italians take a prominent part in these agricultural settlements especially where they are union enterprises, as at Vineland, N. J. (the oldest colony), at Valdese, N. C., Glastonbury, Conn., Tontitown, Ark., Asti, Cal. Leadership is always an important factor in final success.

Canastota, N. Y., Genoa and Cumberland, Wis., Hammonton, N. J., Independence, La., are examples of Italian rural towns initiated by laborers who

[7] Emily Fogg Meade, *The Italian on the Land,* U. S. Bulletin of Labor, 1907, p. 533.

[8] John Foster Carr, *A Guide to the United States for Italian Immigrants.*

[9] Foerster, p. 365.

stayed, or berry pickers who bought land. Italian market gardeners are numberless, especially since the prosperity during the war has allowed play to the instinct to buy land, and thus for a certain proportion of the population to return to the overseas occupation of farming. Their small farms are seen in the neighborhood of any city or town which has a fair-sized Italian colony.

Success and failure as farmers.—The farmers of these agricultural settlements often make a success where American farmers fail, but characteristically do not carry on the diversified farming or produce staple crops as the American. Deficient in capital and in the understanding of machines, fertilizer, and rotation of crops which capital allows, the southern Italians, especially, begin in a small way by digging or grubbing out a farm from waste lands. Their crops are berries, grapes, peaches, vegetables, forage, cotton. In several colonies, only in recent years, has wealth been amassed. Over a course of years they have learned method from the Americans. The colonies are very interesting as schools of coöperation. Some have failed through its lack. Others are very successful. Sunnyside possesses fruit evaporators, canneries, and cider and vinegar factories. Independence markets its strawberries through a powerful Association in refrigerator cars. Asti is nationally important for its wineries, claiming assets of nearly $3,000,000 as long ago as 1910.[10] From the social and Americanization aspects, there will be much to say of these agricultural colonies.

What of the return movement to Italy?—The return movement of Italians to Italy since the war has not been the significant one which it was expected to be. The great desire to see friends and the native village, and how things are after the war has prompted more than one hundred and fifty thousand

[10] Foerster, Chapter XIX.

to return. But the idea is well-nigh universal that such absence is but for a visit, especially since many of those who first returned are again in America, having found that work is a minus quantity in Italy, and living conditions, to their mind, are intolerable. The numbers lost have been offset by the return of 200,000 Italian reservists to the United States, and by the coming of the families of Italians already here, which are clamoring to be sent for in every incoming mail.

These years of absence from the Fatherland, enforced though they were, coupled with rising standards permitted by prosperity, have dug a chasm between his present life in America and the old in Italy, which renders the Italian immigrant in large measure not at home any longer in his native land.

Part II

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Italian colonies formed of clans.—Returning now to the third motive leading to distribution of Italian immigrants, namely the rejoining of relatives or fellow-villagers here in the United States, we should link it with a more exact scrutiny of economic conditions. Even more than the labor gang, the Italian colony has come to be the typical phenomenon of Italian immigration in America. Whether large or small, the basic features of such colonies are wonderfully similar. A self-reliant individual becomes well-placed with a job, and stays even though isolated. He discovers that there is work here for other men of his village and sends for them, and they join him. When their means are sufficient, and conditions are tolerable, other members of the families come till all are assembled. For example, the men

of Salle, a village of the Abruzzi, came to Astoria, Long Island, before scattering to smaller groups in various parts of America. A Waldensian cook became established in Hartford, Conn., and there is now at that place a circle of related families mainly engaged in the same occupation. With a greater complexity, the same holds true in cities with large colonies, or even of the huge metropolitan colonies; there are, indeed, accretions of solitary individuals for whom the fact of Italian nationality is sufficient. They may be former Italian soldiers used to being with men from all parts of the peninsula; but the bulk of the population is made up of distinct elements, often living to themselves in specific streets or localities, and coming from particular towns or districts in Italy. The original element in a given American city may be from certain villages of the Basilicata, and by this time is Americanized sufficiently to be diffused through the American population. The next element is from one or more villages of Avellino, and, still arriving, masses together in certain blocks and streets; the third and largest element, dating only ten or fifteen years back to its earliest comers, is from three villages of Siracusa in Sicily, this, too, massed together. Smaller groups may be from Messina, or native to some town of the Abruzzi, or of some village of the North. It is now well known that Italian towns are transplanted to certain streets in New York. The local sentiment, *campanilismo,* transferred to America, may be so tremendously strong as to hold the group together and faithful even to minute overseas customs as in case of the "Cinisi," natives of that Sicilian village, now resident in New York.[11]

Residence and assimilation.—In New York, in general, the investigators of the Carnegie Corpora-

[11] Thomas, *Treatment of Immigrant Heritages,* Carnegie Corporation Studies.

tion assert that the first residence of Italian immigrants is the Bowery and its neighborhood; the second, permitted by greater economic well-being, is in "Little Italy" and in the Bronx; and the third residence, of the younger generation or those who have become well Americanized, is in the boroughs and not primarily among the Italian population.

Relation of colonies to industry.—Italian-American colonies may have a three-fold relation to local industry: (1) they may take complete possession of it as for example in case of the clothing or artificial flower trade in New York; or (2) becoming more static, because more a colony of families, its members may seek to enter varied occupations. Such is the case of the large colony at New Haven, Conn., where it is difficult to select any one industry as the reason for the existence of the large group resident there. (3) It may serve as a home base for the winter life of construction gangs, formerly an important social phenomenon, but of less consequence in late years, now that a colony is made up of families, and many Italians during war activities have become recruited to skilled labor.

The motive of saving.—The migrations, uniformly the earlier, and, less exclusively, the later, within communities, or from one community to another, are dictated by the economic motive, and, specifically, the motive of saving. Without a doubt this motive stands head and shoulders above any other in Italian-American life, a reaction from narrow means in Italy. There is indeed a certain impressiveness in the grand total of facts so often pointed to: (1) Of the Italians in New York City alone, who own $100,000,000 of real estate;[12] (2) of great sums in savings banks, and greater sent to Italy; (3) of the largest land-owner in the state of Connecticut being

[12] Sartorio, p. 20.

an Italian; (4) of a New England theatrical man of Italian birth recently forming a ten-million-dollar corporation within his own family; yet, excluding recent prosperity, the average Italian immigrant experience in saving has been a bitter one. Some Italians have had their chance; most have had small chance in America. The major portion of money sent to Europe has probably been for the maintenance of families, and real savings or no, it has been individually but a pittance, wrung from hard toil, and accumulated through stinting.

Standard of living during the last generation.—Italians, as helpless newcomers, have had to accept low wages, less than a living wage according to American standards. In the early period a third of all Italians in the United States living in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Baltimore were found by the Commissioner of Labor to be living in deplorable poverty and not many had yet been able to move into the better districts.[13] Things were better after 1900, but chiefly for trades-people, less so for laborers, though thrifty.[14] Irregularity of employment was a problem for the masses engaged in construction work, through the cessation of labor during the winter, or during depression. Italian families average three times as large as American. They are unadjusted to their small American income, and therefore, following any irregularity in employment, many families are in financial straits or on the margin of efficiency. In 1914-15 the Associated Charities of Boston dealt with 40 per cent more new cases than in the previous year, but in the principal Italian district the increase was 300 per cent.[15]

Wages.—A fair summary of several types of wages

[13] U. S. Commissioner of Labor, Seventh Special Report, *The Slums of Great Cities,* 1894.

[14] Industrial Commission, XV, pp. 574 f.

[15] Foerster, p. 378.

is the following: Home workers in the clothing trade have received about *five cents an hour;* men workers in the same trade perhaps $8 or $9 per week. Shop operatives in confectionery, artificial flower making and allied trades have been paid in recent years $5-$7 per week, in the case of girls or women. Common labor in the Eastern States, for years before the war, was given $1.50 per ten-hour day, more or less, sometimes $1.25. In the cities construction men might secure $2. Unionized hod-carriers have been paid $3-$4, non-unionized, $2-$3 for a longer day. Miners' helpers have made $2-$3. Skilled miners (the minority), $3-$4, and other skilled workmen, the same or more. Though the rates have been higher in recent years than fifteen or twenty years ago, they contend with strikingly higher prices of food and other necessities.[16] The northern Italian earns more, but spends more for a higher standard of living, and often saves less.

Family in industry.—The single worker without family has been said to be able to save a maximum of $40 out of $50. The wives of southern Italians, except through child bearing periods, contribute to the income through work, or, in the country, by gathering whatever of food or fuel they may. The average child goes to work as soon as the law permits.[17] A common phenomenon among Italians is that of giving all or a large portion of their earning to their parents well up to the time of their coming of age. On the other hand the practice of providing a dowry for the daughter is more common among Italian families than among all save well-to-do American families. The golden years of saving are those immediately following going to work of the youth of the family. Normally the children educated in America, or more Americanized, enter more skilled

[16] Foerster, pp. 378, 379.
[17] Foerster, p. 480.

or professional work than their elders, and earn more.

Standard of living to-day.—The economic upheaval of the great war wrought a great change in the finances of many Italian families. On the one hand the man with small children found that the high cost of living left him no better or even worse off than before in spite of his higher wage. On the other hand the man without family, or one whose grown children were an industrial asset, frequently aided by his membership in a labor union, or if he participated in the extraordinarily high wages prevalent in many trades, obtained a modest competence.

Adaptation to the American standard of living.—The adaptation of the Italian immigrant to the American standard of life is proportionate to his youthfulness at the time of his arrival here. The older generation changes very slightly except as economic motive constrains it. This holds true in town, but also in the country notwithstanding greater contact with Americans.[18] There are many men who have never learned, and who are incapable of learning, English, many women, who, still held in domestic seclusion, never venture beyond their quarter and whom the teacher of English must seek to teach, not outside of their own block, if she would teach them at all. The younger generation born in Italy, still attached to Italian cooking, and to overseas family customs, nevertheless wants American things. "The first marked change . . . is probably in clothing. Neatly attired young men and women come from crowded and dirty homes."[19] The generation born here is entirely sophisticated in its American life.

[18] Emily Fogg Meade, *The Italian on the Land,* pp. 507 ff.
[19] Ibid., Meade.

Unrest.—Certain Italian colonists, addicted to violent speech, have in the past gained notoriety because of their socialism and anarchism. There is a certain amount of this of the parlor sort, widely prevalent, provoked by the strength of socialism in Italy or by the undoubtedly harsh and sometimes unjust economic conditions here. But the Italian-American shares but little in the current unrest called bolshevism. He owns too much property, and has too many savings and Liberty bonds; the economic motive in him causes him to oppose real disorder. Any leadership of Italian name in the I. W. W. or kindred organizations has been recruited not among immigrants, but imported from Italy for the purpose.[20]

[20] Statement of C. M. Panunzio, *Immigrant in Industry,* Division Industrial Relations Department, Interchurch World Movement.

Chapter III

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND EDUCATIONAL FORCES AMONG ITALIAN-AMERICANS

Part I

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Racial heritage, economic status and methods of distribution produce a complicated aggregate of social conditions among Italian-Americans, which can only gradually be bettered. American indifference or willingness to exploit changes these conditions into community problems, while friendliness and understanding convert them into assets.

Housing and its evils.—The standard of living, already referred to, is most important in so far as it directly affects housing and health. The out-of-doors, semi-rural life of Italy becomes generally the urban or metropolitan existence of America, usually in a climate more rigorous than the Italian, compelling an indoor existence for many weeks of the year. Necessity, ignorance of the danger involved, and the desire to save throw the newly arrived Italian immigrants into the slums or poorest quarters of great cities and into houses which are run down, ill adapted to tenement uses, and quite generally flimsy, in comparison with the substantial structures of their native town. In the average city, the type of houses occupied by the Italian immigrant is well-known. They are the fine old residences, poorly remodeled and in an inferior state of repair, insufficiently equipped with sanitary conveniences, interspersed with cheap new tenements. Owners of both

types merely pretend to observe the letter of the law, and under a lax municipal administration do not even make a pretense. The earliest observers noted with horror the dirty rookeries in which the organ-grinders and sellers of statuettes of the first generation of Italian immigrants lived.[1] A few years later the Italian colonies of New York among others were the victims of political corruption and private greed, and the beneficiaries in that long war against bad housing, congestion, lack of parks and poor school buildings well-known to the public through the books of Jacob Riis.[2] Conditions are to-day immensely better, but the crowding, and sometimes the dirt, remains. The single blocks in New York which hold 3,500 people, an average of 1,100 to the acre, are inhabited by Italians. There is a wide disparity of cleanliness among Italians; some houses are hovels, others are as spick and span as the old or flimsy construction allows. Often the halls are dirty, for here there is no responsible "*concierge*" as in Italy, and the proprietor is apt to be indifferent to that little detail. The more enterprising families move into new neighborhoods or better quarters after a few years and the poor and less efficient are left with the newer comers. The complications of the problem are: the double or triple number of children in an Italian family as compared with an American family, and the resulting strain on the mother; the indoor life to which the women and girls of immigrants from some sections of Italy are condemned by old country ideas; the quantity of home work done by them, often in ill-lighted and ill-ventilated quarters; households which occupy but two or three rooms, often with no heat but that of the kitchen stove; the habit of doubling up families or

[1] C. L. Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York*, 3rd edition, pp. 194 f.

[2] Cf. *A Ten Years' War; How the Other Half Lives*, etc.

of taking in lodgers or boarders which the presence of many unattached men has produced; sleeping with windows unopened; living with a minimum of bathing; such phenomena make for an immense increase of tuberculosis and contagious disease.[3] The housing of construction gangs, now improved, but in the past provided for in any sort of shanty, bunk-house or discarded freight car was notorious.

Diet.—A well-rounded diet founded on Italian cooking is more healthy than that using American dishes if the prevalence of gastric troubles of the races be compared; but the actual eating of many immigrant families has often been poorly adapted to maintain health, for example, "rickets," a disease due to a limited starch diet, is prevalent in some Italian communities. Investigation shows that in variety, quantity and cost, the standard of eating of Italian laborers is below the standard of other immigrant nationalities.[4] Impairment of health and of physique is noticeable among a large proportion of the children. Industrial accident and disease add to the death rate, social problems, and personal tragedy among these people. That such conditions in the months of higher war and post-war wages in industry have greatly changed is a pleasure to record. According to an Italian pastor in one of the larger cities, all of the families of his parish own or are paying for their own houses; and although this is perhaps a unique case, yet home ownership is an ideal to which many Italian families are attaining.[5]

The Padrone.—The early fortunes of Italian im-

[3] Mariano, J. H., *The Italian Contribution to American Democracy,* p. 51.

[4] Sheridan, *Italian, Slavic and Hungarian Unskilled Immigrant Laborers in the United States,* U. S. Bureau of Labor Bulletin No. 72, p. 477.

[5] Mariano, J. H., *The Italian Contribution to American Democracy,* pp. 37 Seq. and 286.

migrants in America are bound up with that unique social institution, the padrone system. Somebody must be the intermediary between the large numbers of Italian laborers, helpless as to language and knowledge of labor opportunities, and American employers of labor, who on their side are equally helpless to understand or make the point of contact with these people. Hence there has risen from the midst of the immigrants the padrone, or the gang boss, indispensable but unmistakably powerful. Because he is indispensable, even just employers are compelled to allow him to do more or less as he pleases, although an aroused public sentiment and regulation secured by the Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants has curtailed his tyranny of the earlier years. He exacts all kinds of grafts and perquisites from the men, and profits from their necessities, but as he knows the labor market, they are compelled through necessity of employment to keep silent and return to him year after year.

The banker.—His confederate, also a unique figure within the Italian colonies, is the so-called Italian banker, an earlier comer than most of his fellow countrymen. Besides being the cicerone and general helper of his lately arrived fellow-villagers, he becomes the enroller of their labor, the holder of their money and its forwarder to Italy, and steamship agent. He has plenty of trade, however unscrupulous he may be, as the recently arrived Italian has need of him and continues to be long awed by the magnificence of American institutions, commercial and otherwise. These in general have made no attempt to win his patronage. Of late years the Italian banker has regular quarters at the heart of the Italian colony, but previously he may have had his office anywhere. The series of abscondings and irregularities of his kind among all immigrant nationalities has forced many states to adopt protec-

tive legislation after the manner of New York and Massachusetts.[6]

An Italian-American street.—Along the principal street of an Italian colony are to be seen, besides the banks, numerous grocery shops and markets, great and small, displaying fruits and vegetables, and wares peculiar to the race, the Italian pharmacy, undertaking establishment, cobbler shop, barber shop, macaroni manufactory, an inferior restaurant, a printer's shop, perhaps the home of a local paper, the public school, the Italian Roman Catholic Church, and frequently the Protestant mission. There may be a coöperative store, a form of business which often has had marked success among Italian-Americans. There has been the saloon, as much a place of resort as of drinking; there are many bottled soda shops and pool-rooms patronized by or maintained by clubs, sometimes gangs, for amusement, or for political or less legitimate purposes. The shingle of the doctor and mid-wife are to be seen, these persons, especially the latter, enjoying great repute among their people because of the high standing of their professions in Italy. Actually, through our loose regulation, they may be ignorant and inefficient practitioners here. Upstairs along the street are to be found cheap lodging houses, the headquarters for Italian bands, and the large number of lodges, both of Italian name and of American name with Italian constituency. Besides these, the large colonies will have their own theater and moving picture halls, charities, hospital, consulate, chamber of commerce, and luxurious club. In and around these institutions, social and business life flows. In its more intimate forms it is circumscribed by jealous loyalty to *paesani*—that is to members of the same village in Italy, or the feeling of being

[6] Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community,* Chapter IV. Foerster, pp. 391, 392.

a northern or southern Italian; thus "campanilism" or the regional spirit works out in business, in church, in lodge. Among those of a given village there is much coöperation in small ways, and much helpfulness to one another especially when trouble in business, in family, or with the law comes.

Affection for Italy.—One of the first effects of life in America is a broadening of spirit. Many a provincial Italian, who never knew of or cared aught for the ideal of native land at home, finds developing early a new affection for Italy and his "Italianità" or racial heritage. The Italian consul is his protector, the Italian government has a definite program of subsidy for Italian Chambers of Commerce, for the Dante Alighieri Society and the schools where the Italian language is taught, etc. The strongest lodge with most numerous branches bears the name "Sons of Italy," and only such in blood may be members of it. Italian papers publish much news from Italy, and passionately champion her national aspirations. Collections in aid of the victims of great disasters in Italy, or of war sufferers, and subscriptions to war loans are presented to the Italians in America and meet with great response, striking the chord where the Italian is most generous, and at the same time arousing racial sentiment. They who have never returned to Italy often idealize the fatherland with homesick longing, and hope, their fortune made, to return there. And finally, Italy has never renounced the right to call those of Italian blood to military service, even if American citizens or born in America of Italian descent. At this point it may be said that although the Italian government is not disinterested in this policy, yet it would seem that a finer Italianism is often the best road to real Americanism in Italian-Americans.

But the most potent institution among Italian-Americans is the family. At least it is the typical

unit in Italian colonies. The older Italian in the end brings his family to America, the young man imports his bride and founds one; or if he marries here, he seeks immediately to set up a separate household.

The family.—We have seen how economic necessity and the desire to participate in family life have created the system among Italian-Americans of multiplied lodgers. It is an abnormality which does not exist in Italy. Without a doubt, besides adding to the congestion, it has added to promiscuity and immorality in families. But such is less than might be expected because the Italian jealously guards his home. He is head of the family and exacts obedience from wife and children, and according to custom even pretends to have his say in certain affairs of his grown-up sons and grandchildren. It is a custom with the force of law among southern Italians, for instance, that the first grandchild should bear the name of the paternal grandfather or grandmother. The Italian man sometimes limits the liberty of his wife to leave the house. If he is of the immigrant generation he considers it a duty to accept all the children that Providence may bestow. But although he or his wife may not always be intelligent or model parents, they love their children and live with them. The great virtues are domestic virtues. The great events are family events. The birth of a child is hailed with great joy and is a subject for much congratulation. Its baptism is important not only on account of its religious necessity, so considered, but also for the feasting that occurs. And the godfather or godmother becomes, ex officio, little less than blood relations. The young girl devotes much attention to her hope chest. Daughters are kept close at home especially in the evening; Italians are unwilling that they should go out in domestic service because they cannot super-

vise their daughters in others' homes; if they go into the factory, it must be near at hand, and conditions be known. Marriages and matters of dowry continue to be arranged by the parents. Weddings are festive affairs, presents are generous. Grief for the dead is violent, but the proper degree of pomp and ceremony at the funeral must be observed lest the family be criticized.

Recreation.—The simplicity of Italian recreation is admirable and is more often taken in family groups than otherwise. They gather together to sip coffee or Italian wine, to hear a little music, or to play cards, or stroll out together for an evening, at the movies and especially at the opera, when it comes to town, or in these later days, off for a Sunday afternoon, the whole family piled into the auto. In such ways Italians take boundless pleasure without extremes or excesses.

The annual festival of their lodge provokes a great display of uniforms and banners accompanied by music, elaborate discourses, and much eating and drinking. On religious holidays, usually occurring in midsummer, the greatest and most extravagant celebrations take place. There is prodigal decoration, street illumination, and fireworks for the processions when the patron saint is honored with festivity. Thousands of persons are often in line, curious and sometimes vulgar expressions of religious emotion occur, and large offerings are frequently made to the saints. But with the sloughing off of superstition, the tendency year by year is to reduce these celebrations to more limited proportions.

Parents and children.—Returning to the subject of the family, it may be said that the most severe tests and the greatest moral problems arise in the adjustment of family life to conditions in the new country, and on the other hand American institutions are tested by their power to conserve Italian

habits of abiding values. The immigrant does not ask that his wife be his mental companion, or that she know much of the outside world. She, and perhaps he, marry young, her family duties are numerous, and, not infrequently, she dies, worn-out by work or child-bearing, just when the older children need her guidance most. It may not be her fault that she has been accused of not knowing how to bring up her children. She certainly is not usually their intellectual companion and commonly she is illiterate with all that implies of outlook on life. Yet, despite all, both mother and father are remarkably ambitious for their children. The tenacity with which they try to hold their family together, and the attachment to the best overseas ideals as they know them, or react to the shocks which American life brings them in the case of their children, must rouse admiration. But the circumstances of immigrant life are such that while the mother remains static in mental outlook, and the father also to large degree, the children rapidly change. Their life is plastic and gathers many impressions from an environment to which the home is stranger. Although parents are vaguely desirous that the children should learn the overseas tongue, they usually only learn a garbled form of the family dialect, of which they become ashamed, and which they rapidly replace with English. In other ways they speedily become Americanized, act of necessity as spokesmen for their parents, and often end by looking down on their elders and dominating in the household,—a dangerous state of affairs. Hence any disparagement of parental customs by teachers or social workers is very unwise, while any attempt to teach the Italian language to the young is exceedingly valuable in bringing parents and children together. When a little Italian girl recently saw the undisguised admiration of Americans for the

beautiful handiwork of her mother who had been persuaded to lend it for an exhibition, her mother rose greatly in her estimation. Community affairs for example under the auspices of the public schools greatly help. Wise indeed is the increasing effort to-day to minister to the members of the Italian family as a unit, on the part of social institutions. The efforts of the Young Women's Christian Association, in its thirty-seven International Institutes, to serve the less accessible mothers of Italian families, and the fine-spirited and helpful pamphlet publications issued by it for them and other immigrant women, are eminently valuable.

Intermarriage.—What a splendid asset to the United States is the second generation of Italian stock. In 1915, roughly, 22 per cent of the children born in Connecticut, 20 per cent of all born in New York State and Rhode Island, nearly 12 per cent of all born in Massachusetts and 9 per cent of all born in Pennsylvania had an Italian father.[7] It is difficult to follow them as a separate group. Yet some things we know of them. It has been observed of them that many belong to a detached group, "neither really Italians nor yet Americans."[8] The predominating element in the lodges of the Sons of Italy, which are broadly typical of the Italian population, is said to be the young man born in Italy, but emigrating to the United States while not yet too old to be greatly Americanized. We have seen how often the children of Italian parents,—particularly the young children of the family,—scorn their parents, because they have imbibed the scorn for the "Dago" around them. We know next to nothing of the facts concerning intermarriage with other

[7] U. S. Bureau of Census, Birth Statistics for the Registration Area of U. S., 1915, 1st Annual Report, p. 56.

[8] Remark of Rev. F. G. Urbano, of Grace Chapel, New York, quoted by Mangano.

races. There seems to be little intermarriage of Italian girls with other young men, but on the other hand, due perhaps to the more rigorous conditions of courtship surrounding Italian girls, Italian young men frequently marry girls of other nationalities whom they meet in the freer contacts of American life. Thus a tendency to marry Jewesses in New York City has been noted.[9] Many of our ablest Italian pastors have American wives. A school principal highly praised the children of mixed Italian and Swedish stock to be found in one of our cities. And the writer was assured that at Hammonton, New Jersey, where the development of the Italian families is rapidly making them one with the rest of the population, mixed marriages were being celebrated every day. Doubtless this is true throughout the country of small colonies and scattered families, thoroughly Americanized or closely tied up with the general population.[10]

Delinquency and crime.—It is the children of Italians, rather than the older immigrant generation, who show a disproportionate percentage of delinquency and crime. And of these, it is not the girls who err—for they have an excellent record—but the boys. Over and above the dissolving of parental control, the abnormality or subnormality which the Italian standard of life produces in some, and the lack of pocket money, the usual training of the street leads on the Italian boy with his strong racial traits into delinquency and crime. The idea of American life with which the youth is imbued is superficial and garish if not bad. The worst districts of American cities where vice, drunkenness, theft, and disregard for law flourish are usually alongside of the Italian quarter. Crap-shooting

[9] *Immigration Journal,* Sept., 1916, pp. 88 f.

[10] Mariano, *The Italian Contribution to American Democracy,* a painstaking and exhaustive study of Americans of Italian descent.

gives an early introduction to the national Italian vice of gambling. Fruit-stands invite theft. The war of the police against games in the street and the movies and bill-boards suggest questionable programs to the boys' gangs, which go from bad to worse until they become the gangsters of the "East Side" of the cities, fit material out of which to make thugs, blackmailers and white-slavers. Although New York State has a huge Italian population, and perhaps of no extraordinary criminal tendency, there are from 300 to 450 inmates of Italian stock among the 1200 total at the state prison at Auburn. As they are largely young men, the natural deduction is that they must be either young immigrants from Italy gone wrong from their undisciplined passions, or native-born delinquent sons of immigrants.

The great mass of the Italian-American population, unquestionably industrious, sober and trustworthy, is erroneously judged by the public on account of the spectacular or violent nature of Italian crime. Only 0.6 of north Italians and only 0.8 of south Italians per 1,000 admitted, a low percentage in comparison with other immigrant nationalities, were deported or debarred from the United States because of crime.[11] The report of the Chicago Council Committee on Crime states that "in convictions for both felonies and misdemeanors the various foreigners show almost a smaller percentage of convictions than their proportion of the population entitles them to have" and that "the Italians show an excess of one-tenth of one per cent in convictions and this is surely so small as to be negligible."[12] Italians are guilty of crimes against the person rather than against property, and these are

[11] Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1914, pp. 105 and 108.

[12] Quoted, Abbott, p. 112.

"usually due to drink, cards and women."[13] They could be greatly reduced, were justice meted out to every criminal and were political influence abolished from the judge's bench.

The Black Hand.—In the Black Hand outrages certain salient features of the Camorra of Naples and of the Mafia of Sicily have been imported into America. The occurrence of these has been due, according to one familiar with the problem, to the failure of our immigration laws to take advantage of opportunity Italy gives of keeping out the Italian criminal more than they have hitherto done; it has also been due to lack of respect for the administration of our criminal law. The principals in such outrages are sometimes criminals from Italy, but more often are Americans of Italian blood trained up in the school of the gang. Italian detectives are of great value in the perfectly feasible proposition of eradicating this sort of crime, but not while the Italian criminal finds way of entrance and is "convinced that America is not only the country of liberty but of license—to commit crime."[14]

The passion to get ahead.—The Italians come to America with certain prepossessions and aspirations. One of them, a man of some thoughtfulness, said, "What the Italians want is a chance and a guide." Their motives are to make a living, to save, and in a large number of cases to return to Italy. They are ignorant and finding themselves exploited, soon become reserved and perhaps suspicious. They themselves generally, and certainly their children, soon catch the American spirit of "getting ahead," that is, gaining wealth and position. Undeveloped brains do not signify lack of native intelligence. Their passions are strong. They are well disposed

[13] Mangano, p. 106.

[14] "Train," *Courts, Criminals and the Camorra,* Chapter IX, quotation, p. 245.

to America, and in view of the common bitter experience, it is remarkable how the great majority retain this spirit. As the Italian is an individualist by nature and by circumstance, it is necessary to develop in him a conception of team work or of community service. He readily responds to sympathy and to such ideals as are not abstract and do not go too far afield. He wants to know the American people, but his reaction to them is primarily on the basis of feeling, sentiment, emotion, which, after all, is the common world language.

First ideals in politics.—In his relation then to the American people, the Italian immigrant comes not consciously to accept broader ideas and ideals, but asking of a generous nation an opportunity to make a living. His development leads him to adapt himself at first only to the spiritual environment in so far as it affects his economic condition, but afterwards his active intelligence makes him one of the best of candidates for Americanization. The clay is plastic and we make or mar it largely as we will. Jacob Riis draws a lively picture of him, in his first years: "He is clannish, this Italian; he gambles and uses a knife, though rarely on anybody not of his own people; he takes what he can get, wherever anything is free, as who would not, coming to the feast like a starved wolf? There is nothing free where he came from. He buys fraudulent naturalization papers and uses them. Gambling is his besetting sin. He is sober, industrious, frugal, enduring beyond belief, but he will gamble on Sunday and quarrel over his cards, and when he sticks his partner in the heat of the quarrel, the partner is not apt to tell. Yet there is evidence that the old vendetta is being shelved, and a new idea of law and justice is breaking through. . . . Our Italian is not dull. . . . A dollar a day for the shovel; two dollars for the shovel with the citizen behind it. And he

THE WALL OF TERMOLI, ON THE ADRIATIC

CARUNCHIO, TYPICAL HILLTOP TOWN

takes the papers and the two dollars. He came here for a chance to live. Of politics, social ethics, he knows nothing. . . . Why should he not attach himself with his whole loyal soul to the plan of government in his new home that offers to boost him into the place of his wildest ambition, a 'job on the streets,'—that is, in the Street Cleaning Department,—and asks no other return than that he shall vote as directed? . . . Here, ready-made to the hand of the politician, is such material as he never saw before. For Pietro's loyalty is great."[15]

Later evolution.—These words were penned twenty years ago and since then New York City has had a Congressman, a president of the Board of Aldermen and acting Mayor of Italian blood, and has now a State Senator, three assemblymen, one judge of the City Court, one of General Sessions, one of Special Sessions, and one city magistrate. The City of Philadelphia has an assistant city attorney of that race; Rhode Island a group of state legislators from Providence; the presidents of the boards of education of Newark, N. J., and New Haven, Conn.; the sheriff of New Haven, Conn.; a police court judge, and the secretary to the mayor of Hartford, Conn.; the assistant city prosecutor, and one of the probation officers of Cleveland, Ohio, are of Italian blood. Such scattered instances could be multiplied many times wherever Italian stock is numerous or Americanized. They indicate the increasingly commanding place Italians are taking in American political life. The practice of law is a field attractive to the immigrant or his son who has sufficient education to compete in American life; the American-born of Italian blood is well represented in the law schools. The influence of these new Americans in politics is becoming more worthy,

[15] Riis, *A Ten Years' War*, pp. 113, 114.

beginning with the sordid practices of the ward politician, already hinted at, up through the egoism of the business man or self-made man using public office for his own purposes or ambitions, perhaps the too common type among them to-day, to a few but growing number who to-day feel the sense of civic responsibility and the obligation to serve.

A type.—In one of our larger cities there is a man of great cleverness, an outstanding example of the common type, who has graduated through all the stages of cicerone, lemon-vendor, undertaker, coal-dealer, banker, real estate agent and proprietor of an Italian newspaper, *L'Opinione.* Among the Italians he has passed for a Roman Catholic; in the American residential district where he lives, he is a member of a Protestant church. He has been so able to capitalize his reputation, without holding great office, as to be the colonial boss, so that no Italian considered that he could accomplish anything without coming to him or any American get in touch with the Italian colony without recourse to his influence. Although evidently his first thought is for himself, he himself really believes that he is giving his life for his people. It may be said that another faction, enthusiastic over Americanism, is fighting his leadership with the definite slogan, and perhaps ideal, of disinterested community service.

Attitude toward organized labor.—Another significant relationship to the American people is in the field of organized labor. The Italian immigrant, because of his desire to work anywhere and for any wage, his individualism, his small understanding of team work, was at first *persona non grata* to organized labor, drawing upon himself from labor, and so from the public, the derisive names of "wop," "guinea," and "dago." While green he had a bitter experience as a strike-breaker and learned to avoid such labor. He has little understood labor solidar-

ity, and has abominated strikes, and hence labor organizations have sought legislation restricting his coming. Yet with a few years of residence in America this is a form of combination in which he makes rapid progress, the one-time peasant and southern Italian attaining the point of view widely held by the labor classes in Italy, or by the far more advanced northern Italian here. Strikes in which Italians participated became increasingly numerous in the pre-war years; and during the war years with the tremendous enhancement of the bargaining power of labor, Italians have taken an aggressive part in them. Social workers among them say that they are exploiting this power to a great degree, and one familiar with conditions in Chicago ventured to assert that practically all Italian labor there was unionized.

As viewed by employers.—Employers on their part have generally given praise to the Italian immigrant, finding him willing, industrious, tractable, and generally realizing that to him have been due the prodigies of toil which the expansion of industry and transportation has asked of the manual laborer. Where the man has been considered rather than the hand, they have recognized his great contribution to the national wealth, have reflected upon the cost in blood and toil, and have candidly asked themselves whether these workers have had their fair return economically and socially for the part which they have played.

Evolved and Americanized.—There are innumerable individuals, and there are communities where Italians have ceased to be regarded as such, and the distinction of race has ceased to be felt. In fact, there are many, born here or of a sufficiently remote date of coming, who in their persons demonstrate that, once having learned American habits, the Italians are quick to amalgamate with the gen-

eral population. Indeed it is somewhat of a defect of Americanized Italians to abandon contact with the majority of their race and to confine business relationships and seek residence as completely as possible among Americans. There are churches among Italians which have dropped the Italian name, and American congregations of Italian descent. Notably in the agricultural colonies surrounded by Americans, while the older people continue unabsorbed till the end, the youth are one with their American comrades. "In Genoa, Wisconsin, for example, one of the older Italian agricultural settlements in the United States, the farmers have quite ceased to be deemed Italians by their neighbors. There has been, in all such cases as this, no catastrophic change . . . but gradually in the clearest instances such an awakening of personality, such an unfolding of competence, specialized or general, as fills observers with wonderment." [16]

Part II

EDUCATIONAL FORCES

Malign educational forces.—All social conditions amid which our Italian-Americans live are forces educating for good or bad. Certain liberal elements are far more easily reached by evangelical missions in the days immediately following their arrival in America than after they acquire that attitude so common among us that one may do very well without any church connection whatever. What is the educational effect upon the Italian whose experience has been in the "school of hard knocks" and who is chiefly familiar with the seamy side of American

[16] Foerster, p. 444.

institutions? The doors of American homes have not always been open even to immigrants of culture and of character; they have not always been welcomed by the average American church congregation; if artistic workmen, they have often found themselves misfits in our machine industry; and until recently little attention has been paid to any broad or systematic program of practical instruction in American life and aspiration. Race prejudice, exclusiveness, scorn for things Italian, patronage and discourtesy such as would be shown to no one else save an immigrant, what new-comer from Italy has not encountered some or all of these things? The tale of exploitation on every hand we have partially told. What characters will the immigrant probably meet, some of whom want to meet him? The cursing boss or exacting padrone, the saloon-keeper, the gambler, the vote-buying politician, the shyster lawyer, the quack doctor, the panderer, the dealer in worthless investments, the poorest types of American womanhood, the hostile workman, the recruiter for the I. W. W., and the host of those who jeer the "wop" or the "dago." Can he be blamed if in his ignorance of America he fails to distinguish between such "exploiters" and the real American people? The welcome America has usually given to the new-comer is thorny. Reticence, suspicion, sophistication, sordid aims, egoism, scorn for America, an exploiting spirit in his turn, are habits of mind to which the immigrant very naturally becomes heir. If in spite of all this the average Italian immigrant becomes attached to America, what reserves of loyalty and moral power might he not have developed over and above what he has, had he been met by the square deal and a forceful but sympathetic training, such as we hope that further generations of Italian immigrants may enjoy.

The public school.—Let us turn then to a review of those positive educational forces the exceeding value of which the words just written are not intended to minimize. The children of Italian families are numerous and therefore the influence of that justly vaunted American institution, the public school, can hardly be overestimated. A fine thing is the affection in which the Italian-American parents hold the school and its teachers. They are eager that their children should have the best that it offers. The children are quick and apt pupils, and frequently lead their classes. The schools and their teachers, often more than the home itself, are in a position to mold the ideals and characters of these children. How important it is, then, that both should be of such quality as to furnish both the moral and intellectual background needed, and the wisdom to take advantage of special racial traits. Although some schools fail in this aim, there are fortunately many schools that meet this standard. A common defect has been to make a gap between parents and children through ill-concealed dislike for Italian customs, and failure to appreciate Italian history. Some teachers have demonstrated a special skill with the classes of new-comers. In many schools there is coming to be a percentage of teachers of Italian blood, teaching being a profession which appeals to many Italian girls, and at least one Italian public school principal has risen to a degree of fame through his organization of the school.

Parochial schools.—There seems to be a wide difference, according to locality, in the attendance of Italian children at parochial schools. In many places they are few, in an occasional locality they are numerous. The general attitude of the Italian immigrant, who has been used to secular education as a function of the state in Italy, is against send-

ing his children to the parochial schools, but there may be local factors which change his attitude and practice. According to the Immigration Commission, in 24 cities, 10,640 South Italian children were only 0.8 per cent of all pupils in parochial schools, the Irish having 26.2 per cent.[17] But the order of St. Francis is establishing and conducting such schools among Italians all over the country, the aim being to inculcate the Catholic faith, and to preserve "L'Italianita." The teaching is partly in Italian, by Italian monks or sisters. The result is to retard assimilation and to perpetuate foreign colonies in our cities, as alien in habits of thought as newly arrived immigrants, although these children were born in America.[18]

Italian children in advanced schools.—The deplorable custom of Italian-American parents of withdrawing their children from school at the minimum legal age in order to send them to work,—a custom only partly justifiable upon the plea of economic necessity,—has resulted in a small attendance of their children in high schools and other institutions of higher learning. There are 9,000 Italian-American children out of 28,000 registered pupils in the elementary schools of New Haven, Conn. There are five times as many Italian children as Russian (including Jewish) in these schools, but in the high school five times as many Russians as Italians. However, this situation improves slowly with the general uplift of Italian colonies, while many Italian children are perseveringly attending evening schools of various sorts. It has also been claimed that Italian children, notable for their brightness in elementary schools, stop short in mental ability with higher studies demanding greater application. The truth is probably that they have small encourage-

[17] Foerster, p. 395, note.
[18] Mangano, p. 139.

ment and no place to study in quiet in their crowded homes. In 1920, out of 10,000 pupils taking college entrance examinations sent out by the National Board, the student to win first place was an Italian-American of Hartford, Conn., a youth prominent in many high school intellectual activities.

Literature.—The rank and file of Italian-Americans is not a reading public on account of their unlettered origin. They read newspapers more than books. The book store is the least of their institutions, being usually a neglected department of a jewelry store or a job printing establishment. It may have a few copies of Manzoni or De Amicis, useful to keep up the Italian of an occasional child; for the rest its stock consists of opera scores, and novels of the sensational and dime novel sort. Naturally the children who read prefer American books.

Libraries.—Some of our public libraries have begun to make modest collections of Italian books, especially those where the sympathy for Americanization is keenest. For some years the New York City public library has had a good Italian department and has especially featured Italian books at its branches near Italian colonies. A movement is on foot to establish an Italian library of the first order at Columbia University, for the housing of which appropriate space has been promised by the university authorities.

Italian newspapers.—The first daily Italian newspaper was founded in 1882.[19] The demand for papers has resulted in attempts to establish them in many places, usually on a weekly basis, most of which have failed. There are 26 Italian newspapers printed in New York City, 9 in Philadelphia, 9 in San Francisco, 8 in Chicago and 4 in Pittsburgh, 182 secular and 9 religious weeklies and dailies through-

[19] Foerster, p. 331.

out the country.[20] Editorially the secular papers are of no great value. Much space is given to advertisements of quack doctors and fake medicines, and in the past they have devoted too much attention to reporting crime.[21] They make much of politics, sometimes with no consistent attachment to one party. In short, there has hitherto been held no high ideal of their mission. Their sentiments have often been un-American, and their best devotion has been given to Italy, and affairs which would glorify her whether here or abroad.

However, the fact chiefly evident is the absolute necessity of these papers to their people, and the consequent unlimited opportunity which they afford for sympathetic presentation of the meaning and ideals of America. Some of the Italian papers are rapidly catching this tone. There is a worthy future in this line for such widely circulated papers as *Il Progresso Italo-Italiano* of New York, with 50,000 circulation, or for *La Voce del Popolo Italiano* of Cleveland, with 30,000 circulation throughout the Middle States, while the project of publishing a bilingual paper after the best ideals of American journals such as is on foot in Philadelphia should be encouraged. Besides newspapers, there are several weeklies and monthlies of an ethical and patriotic type, devoting themselves to scientific, economic and literary subjects, and in some instances aiming at the reform of the press and the elevation of Italian-American life. Also a considerable number of American newspapers, the country over, recognizing their large and increasing Italian-American clientele, publish columns or a page in Italian.

Leaders.—It is difficult to estimate the extent of

[20] Coulter, *The Italians of Cleveland,* pamphlet of Americanization Committee, p. 40.

[21] Shriver, *Immigrant Forces,* p. 227.

real leadership among Italian-Americans. A very genuine development along political lines we have already noted. The rising caliber of the Protestant ministry among them will be considered in its proper place. Undoubtedly a great and widespread educational force which is producing its own leaders (not merely importing them from Europe) is the musical field. Italians organize and man hundreds of bands throughout the country. They are managing and financing great operatic ventures, and likewise theatrical and moving-picture projects. Some of the stars of the Metropolitan Grand Opera were daughters of Italian immigrant families. Many of the highest class sculptors, artists, photographers, and architects are coming to be of Italian immigrant blood, as the race asserts its artistic heritage.

An estimate of leadership.—But of the leadership of Italian-Americans in organizing and uplifting their own people, less can be said. In part at least this is due to racial origin and the degree of development. Less than a decade ago a rather pessimistic picture was drawn of the leadership prevalent among them. With the southern Italian immigrants in mind, it was said of them that while of all races the most jealous of their leaders they were the most leaderless. As conspicuous individualists, as soon as a man demonstrated a degree of ability, they distrusted and deposed him. Among them there were no leaders or large organizations. At that time the group of lodges of the Sons of Italy was criticized as a society for talk and a joke, having no outstanding leaders. Business and professional leaders were slowly coming to the front but were apt to drift out of vital touch with their people. Neither press nor church was leading the people. "Leaderless in any large way, yet deluged with petty leaders of organizations . . . with a love of democracy and free-

dom growing within them, they are at present in a plastic state that demands a wise and firm touch to mold them into ways of constructive growth." [22]

The above estimate seems to have been severe but true. Italian-Americans delight to organize, but in matters of administration, the fifty-seven varieties of opinion, all of which insist upon being heard, cause the organization to languish and fade away. The lack of success of pastors with men's clubs in Italian missions confirms this idea and the experience of an able consular officer who said that he with other racial leaders had tried repeatedly to form charitable and welfare agencies in his colony, and had uniformly failed because of divisions and jealousies, is typical. Out of the pressure of the war, however, has come a degree of education in leadership, or perhaps, even more, on the part of the population, an acceptance of the necessity of leadership and coöperation.

Growth of leadership.—In stimulating this spirit, wise Americanization leaders are finding one of their chief functions, while the existence of myriads of clubs, under direction and parliamentary usage in settlements and community centers, is distinctly valuable. The developing growth and efficiency of the "Figli d'Italia"—Sons of Italy—now numbering 125,000 members and 1,000 lodges responsible to the grand lodge and committed to a progressive program of Americanization, is a favorable index of growth in leadership.

Among Italian-Americans who are occupying prominent positions of leadership in the United States, a notable group have been at one time students of the International College, formerly the French-American College of Springfield, Mass. This school has done a great service for them

[22] Archibald McClure, *Leadership in the New America,* Chapter XII.

among other nationalities in encouraging them to go on to further study and preparation elsewhere, and has succeeded in inspiring a goodly number with genuine ideals of racial service and leadership. Of those already in their work, 3 are doctors, 8 are lawyers, of whom two or three occupy influential public positions, 4 are professors in higher institutions, one is a rising sculptor, 9 are ministers and 3 are specifically engaged in Americanization work, one as a Y. M. C. A. secretary, one as secretary of the North-American League for Immigrants, and one as head of the Pennsylvania Railroad School of Instruction, teaching English and citizenship to 4,307 Italian employees.

Forces of assimilation.—We reach, at this point, the consideration of those forces at work in assimilation of the Italian immigrant, which the broad program of Americanization of to-day takes into account. Both on account of the social qualities of the race and on account of their leadership needs just emphasized, no immigrant people have been so susceptible to American efforts to lead them. None have been so sensitive to mistakes of attitude and practice, and none have been so appreciative when the right chord has been struck. To none has the Statue of Liberty, itself a product of an Italian mind, raised higher hopes; in none has the treatment received at Ellis Island produced stronger reaction, agreeable or disagreeable.

The point of view.—They have strongly resented the methods of force, and of patronage. They have been indifferent to plans imposed from without, enthusiastic over those which they themselves have worked out with the aid of helpful suggestion and tactful guidance. Americanization preëminently among Italian-Americans is not solely the presentation of ideas, which are likely to fail of attention, but the creation of a medium of sympathetic con-

tact and sentiment through which ideas and ideals take hold. The old formal night school without a social spirit, without a teacher completely devoted, without a teaching method which distinguished between illiterate and literate pupils in their own language, may have often started with full classes of Italians eager to learn practical English, but as often failed before the end of the season.

Institutions.—Now ample facilities such as public school buildings, and the Y. M. C. A., the enlistment of racial leaders in recruiting classes, the formation particularly of classes in factories with inducements by employers; the internal organization and officering of classes, intelligent grading and instruction and convenient hours are attracting thousands of Italians into schools for learning English. Flexible conditions and friendly interchange of ideas are penetrating the isolation of Italian women and enrolling them in classes in the home or wherever they congregate. And thus these women are coming into contact with American women of the Y. W. C. A., of the churches, of the schools, or of the thousand and one Women's Clubs and Americanization committees. For many years unnumbered Italian children have been members of social settlements which, when intelligently understood, have meant much to all members of the Italian families, especially the youth but also their elders. Certain college settlements have seen within their walls members of the third generation and have never failed to serve appropriately. Boys' clubs and camps, great and small, have coped successfully with the misdirected energy of youthful gangs. One group of boys organized as a Castle of the Knights of King Arthur under the direction of a man of radiant personality later had an enviable record of service and sacrifice in the Great War.

The community idea.—Italian-Americans, as

might be expected from their temperament, have taken enthusiastically to the community idea, and greatly profited by it; pageants, such as the Yale Pageant held in the Yale Bowl; community evenings and exhibitions given by their children, for example at the Howard St. School of Springfield, Mass.; parades as in Chicago with dozens of races taking part in characteristic costumes, but with only one flag; Italian night, and the interracial concert, representing the entire city, under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. of Philadelphia; community dances, as conducted in the school auditoriums of New Haven; receptions to returned soldiers as in Cleveland; the organization of the whole community socially as at Cincinnati, Ohio. Thus in group ways they have felt their solidarity with the American population. And where community affairs have had a community center, such as many public schools have come to be, Italian-Americans have been interested attendants at street or park concerts, moving pictures, community "sings," lectures by members of flying squadrons aiming in other years to sell Liberty Bonds, or promote the war and in these days to combat bolshevism and strengthen prohibition. The moving picture houses liberally patronized by Italian-Americans have become with them an Americanizer of great power for good and for ill.

Protective agencies.—Other agencies, state or private, combatting the exploiters of Italians, have done much to attach these immigrants to our government, offsetting the bitterness engendered from the frauds and privations they have had to endure. Such are the Legal Aid bureaus, public employment bureaus and information bureaus, the various guides and bulletins in English and Italian freely distributed, American banks catering to their patronage, housing associations such as the Octavia Hill Association in Philadelphia, dispensaries and visit-

ing nurse associations. Wherever through organizations or through plain human intercourse, sympathetic notice, fairness, courtesy, kindness, service, have been shown, Italian-America has responded, and greedily absorbed ideas and ideals destined to make her one in spirit with the best people of the land.

Naturalization.—One agency of assimilation remains to be spoken of—the exaltation of naturalization and citizenship. The absolute ignorance of the average immigrant of this last generation of the meaning of vote has been suggested, his innocent connivance in prostituting his citizenship with the politician who bought his vote is well known. Along with it have gone a grinding out of naturalization papers and the completion of the necessary formalities with as little dignity as at the taking out of a dog license. Indeed the Italian, used to dignity in public acts, has often come to the hour of his enfranchisement with heart swelling with pride and new-found patriotism, only to face a court contemptuous, indifferent and frankly derisive of his act. For many this farce is the only Americanization they have known, a process carried out at the insistence of a certain public opinion which has thought to rush naturalization and thereafter has considered assimilation accomplished. Many voices have recently been raised against this hasty and thoughtless method, rightly insisting that assimilation may be a matter of years, and is not primarily a question of language, but of a growing allegiance of the heart. Such have recommended that the franchise be given as a reward of merit and accomplishment and after a long period of time if necessary.[23] For the Italian immigrant fully as much as for any other, Americanization cannot be hurried,

[23] Gino Speranza, *Does Americanization Americanize? Atlantic Monthly,* February, 1920.

Americans can only guide it by the various agencies above suggested and strengthen it by sympathy, democracy and justice. Dr. E. A. Steiner makes the theme of one of his chapters the reflected disgust for America and things American of an Italian couple in Rome whose only son Rocco had been here for some years. Suddenly as if by magic this attitude changed. Their son, a candidate for naturalization, had been one at a banquet given to New Americans, attended by the best citizens and the authorities of his American city, where appreciative words were said of the newcomers and the American ideals were made luminous, and he, their boy, had been called upon to give his word as spokesman for the Italian group. With pride, he whose faith in America had been strained to the breaking point, wrote, "I am an American."[24]

It was in Cleveland, Ohio, where the Italians approximate 23,000 people,[25] that the first Americanization Day was inaugurated, to be followed by other cities. To the candidate for naturalization from no other race is so vivid an appeal made to the imagination as to the Italian when the Fourth of July becomes the natal day of his citizenship as well as of America. He feels himself baptized into allegiance to a new Fatherland.

Racial allegiance.—If he comes to use English, which he realizes is necessary in order that through print and speech he may come nearer the heart of America, he finds it entirely possible to own two allegiances—to Italy, country of his origin, and to America, country of his adoption, as if they were respectively mother and wife. His broadened outlook in America has perhaps made him appreciate Italy more, and that in turn has evolved into love for America, land of his success, land of his chil-

[24] Steiner, *The Broken Wall,* Chapter XIII, p. 205.
[25] Coulter, *The Italians of Cleveland,* p. 8.

dren, land of his heart to which, although he may return to visit native land and the "hole from which he was digged," to adapt a Steiner phrase, he feels impelled to return to the country into which he has built his life. He has learned the American mind, he has felt the call of America, which has in it money, wages, a chance, but more than all these, a new standard, a new routine, an enlarging sense of self,[26] and if we have taken pains to offer it to him, an enlarging sense of the ideal.

The war an agency in Americanization.—During the war Italian reservists and volunteers returned to Italy to fight, before America came into the struggle. Later in the American Army, perhaps 300,000 men of Italian stock, or very conservatively, 245,000, more than of any other immigrant nationality, were enrolled. Twenty thousand of them gave their lives. And while not one was sentenced for military crime, they were excellent fighters and soldiers, and garnered honor and distinction galore. Their relatives at home in the United States gave largely, and poured out their means in Liberty Loans which appealed absolutely both to their sense of duty and of profit. They were an indispensable element in war industries. Each Italian colony had its diversified record of service and sacrifice. All this did more to assimilate and Americanize than many years of peace. An Italian speaking of the attitude of Italian-American reservists has said, "To most of the returned immigrants the distinction between Italian and American citizenship has seemed and is vague and unreal . . . a legalistic distinction. What counts with them is what they feel." . . . Then after giving instances of the common affection for America, he concludes: "This is America's reward for having offered every humble yet adventurous soul the longed-for opportunity, for having

[26] *The Immigrant Tide, Its Ebb and Flow,* Chapter XII.

tendered a home and a refuge to the disinherited of every land. For only through such largess could the spiritual revolution have been accomplished by which the age-old idea of loyalty to a racial group is converted into an allegiance of racially divided and even opposite elements to a Patria representing essentially human as distinguished from political ideals." [27]

[27] Speranza, *Outlook,* Vol. 119, p. 105, *"Hearts' Allegiance."*

Chapter IV

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS AMONG ITALIAN-AMERICANS

Part I

OLD AND NEW FAITHS AND CHURCHES

Transplanted Italian Roman Catholicism.—In the first chapter of this study the peasant or emigrating class of Italy was found to be nominally Roman Catholic, hence ninety-five per cent of Italian immigrants landing at Ellis Island have called themselves Roman Catholics. But they have inherited all the varieties of defective faith and practice which they have at home, such as irregular church attendance, anti-clerical hostility, and antipathy to religion on the one hand, while bigotry, superstition, and attachment to religious conventions if not religious realities persist upon the other. In America newcomers encounter two currents, one tending to fix them in their Roman Catholicism, one tending to detach them from it.

Slow Roman Catholic beginnings.—Roman Catholicism was slow in providing for the religious needs of the first comers among them. One reason given for this neglect has been the hostility of the dominant Irish to the Italians. The chief difficulty has undoubtedly been Italian prejudice against priests, and unfamiliarity with direct contributions for church support. The less religious element, reacting to the liberal atmosphere of America, has made haste to abandon that irksome relationship to the church to which they were constrained in Italy.

Accustomed to a church supported by the state or from its properties, they have not wished to understand or respond to the necessity for direct giving for church maintenance required in America. (*The Catholic Encyclopedia,* Article *Italians,* p. 205.) Hence the Italian colony in any American city grows to some size before a self-supporting church can be organized. In fact the initiative in organizing churches among Italian Americans has largely had to be taken by the American Catholic authorities, who furnish a large part of the support which Italians are unable or unwilling to give. "Many an Italian has had his religion in his wife's name, and the majority of Italians in America have no wives." . . . "Ideals of political liberty have collided here in America with the established order and temporalities of the church." . . . "The Italian takes his religion lightly . . . he comes to us in a state of mental and moral reaction . . . he belongs quite as much to the army of the unchurched as to the ranks of Catholicism. . . . Among eighty Italian newspapers in the United States no one is religious or Catholic." (*The Literary Digest* of October 11, 1913, quoting the *Catholic Citizen* of Milwaukee.) To-day (1921) there are 190 papers (weekly or oftener), only six of which are Roman Catholic.

Causes and character of Roman Catholic effort.—The first Italian Roman Catholic Church, St. Anthony's, was founded in New York City in 1866. The most active body among Italian immigrants has been the Franciscan fathers who followed them from Italy. (Ibid., *The Catholic Encyclopedia.*) The expansion of Protestant work among Italian-Americans has roused the fears of Catholics and stirred them to action. In 1913 the calculation was made that one million Italian immigrants had been lost to the church, thousands having been attracted to Protestantism and tens of thousands remaining un-

churched. It was further stated that according to the Catholic Directory for 1911, while there were 250 Protestant Italian churches and missions in the United States, there were not more than 150 Roman Catholic. (Ibid., the *Literary Digest.*) So it came about that with the increase in number of the immigrants after 1900 and again from 1910 onward, greater Catholic activity among them began to be noted. The Protestant Italian churches now (1921) number 304.

Toward the Protestant work this activity took the form of intense opposition, which has at times broken out in violence and lawlessness. Catholics have rarely been willing to tolerate Protestant work for Italians even where Catholic work does not exist. Many Protestant edifices which had become surrounded by the Italian population have been sold to the Catholics. Others were built, uniformly fine and appropriate structures. The earlier Italian priests, assigned to American service, were of inferior quality, undesired in Italy, and consequently unable to hold their people here. But later, abler men were sent. American dioceses were admonished in a special papal encyclical to give attention to the Italian-American field. Young American Seminarians, chiefly of Irish descent, were sent to Rome expressly to learn the Italian language and character. These have often met with marked success, from the Catholic point of view. Their attitude to Protestant workers has been even more rabidly intolerant than that of their Italian colleagues.

Italian priests, especially, have worked under great handicaps, on account of their mistaken notion that a priest may properly act as a priest even though his private character be questionable. Because their training has been away from the life of the people, their methods have often been the antith-

esis of American democracy and their education has produced reluctance and helplessness in undertaking social work. Success has occurred where the priest has been a real man, of large personality and broad views and devoted to his people.

Expansion of Catholic social service.—Of late years the Church has imitated Protestant social activities and service by conducting sewing schools, music classes, gymnasiums, athletic activities, English classes, day schools, kindergartens, and Boy Scout troops. Other institutions for children care for foundlings, orphans and the wayward. There is an increasing number of Catholic social settlements. The society of San Raffaele and the society, "Italica Gens," protect and serve Italian immigrants. The impression in the past has been that such social efforts have aimed to foster "l'Italianita,"—overseas characteristics—rather than to Americanize; or, indeed, were less for the sake of the service rendered than to maintain the authority of the church.

Taking precedent from the war experience of the Knights of Columbus, the Roman Catholic church has entered upon an ambitious reconstruction program of social effort, centralized in the National Catholic Welfare Council. Already under its direction a new and completely organized community center in the heart of the Italian colony of Utica, N. Y., has been opened (National Catholic Welfare Bulletin, November, 1920). Doubtless the adequate social service training for personnel will in time react upon Italian parishes. It is to be hoped that the Americanization plans going forward shall be made to apply to these parishes where the Catholic Church through its parochial schools, various societies and general influence is able to be a tremendous force for assimilation, but has hitherto been an inert if not a retarding one. It is desirable also that

her influence continue to be set against those forces seeking to destroy the family and to disrupt the state.

Italian-American Catholicism may now utter its voice through the press, and indeed possesses six organs of its own, chiefly weeklies, in several cities. The 1916 Census of Religious Bodies states the number of its churches, using Italian and English, to be 476 with 1,515,818 adherents, of which 149 using Italian only reported 420,511 adherents. Here it must be remembered that this number is not made up of adult members but includes also all children who have been baptized in the Roman Catholic churches.

Roman Catholic summary.—The foregoing then is an estimate of the attempt of the Roman Catholic Church to fix a transplanted people in their ancestral belief. According to their standards a more efficient clergy leadership both of Italian and non-Italian personnel has been built up, but is not yet adequate. Parishes with ample plant and multiplied organizations have been or are being formed in colonies of sufficient size. Advantage is being taken of the coming of a larger proportion of Italian women to draw the more wayward men members of their families into line. The Italian husband commands in his family more than among Anglo-Saxon races, and hence frequently determines the religious attitude of his wife. Nevertheless, like her sisters, everywhere, the Italian woman is conservative and the conservator in matters of religion, and in general exerts a decided influence over her husband towards retaining attachment to the ancient church. Appeal is skillfully made to the idea that the Roman Catholic faith is an essential part of the racial heritage. We have seen that the first stimulating effect of America upon many immigrants is to raise in their esteem the racial heritage. Through this motive and the appeal

to social ambition, it has come about that the well-to-do, the professional leaders, and other prominent members of colonies, and their wives are attracted to be trustees or other directors in churches and their auxiliary organizations. This occurs, whatever may be their personal views or character. And finally, finding it impossible to retain large numbers of adult immigrants, the church is seeking a grip upon the younger generation by establishing parochial schools and social activities and as far as may be constraining its attendance thereon.

Overseas Protestant faith retained.—A few congregations of Waldensians retain in America their overseas organization. There is a large Waldensian congregation in New York City with a Waldensian pastor, Rev. Bartolomeo Tron. They are found in isolated groups scattered over the country, in Massachusetts, at Valdese, N. C., and Monett, Mo., near Texarkana, Brownsville and Gainesville, Tex., Provo, Utah, and Santa Ana, Cal., and in New York, Chicago, Cleveland and other cities. Numerically greater are groups and scattered individuals of Waldensian and other missionary churches in Italy, who have become members here of Protestant churches, both Italian and American, and whose native Protestantism is a stabilizing and constructive force.

The single church of Grotte, located among the sulphur mines of southern Sicily, has the proud record of having assisted in the organization of no less than eight missions in America through the agency of emigrants gone forth from it. It is significant, too, that such a church in Italy may have been founded originally by evangelized immigrants returned from the United States, or may have been the fruit of the work of some American denominational board laboring in Italy.

Comparing the figures of the Religious Census

of 1916 for Italian-Americans affiliated with any religious organization, and the total number of them resident in the United States, we discover that hundreds of thousands of them are not even nominally churched. If we omit those who are evangelicals, the religious division postulated for Italy holds good also for America. The division will be remembered as between the indifferent, the faithful Roman Catholics and the atheistic (Chap. I, Part V). A leading Italian priest in New York admitted that at least fifty per cent of the Italians were without the church except for baptism, marriage and burial (McClure, *Leadership in the New America,* p. 161). A religious leader of Philadelphia estimated that ninety to ninety-five per cent of the Italians of that city do not go to church. One writer holds the general percentage of Italian unchurched to average sixty per cent and states that a leading Italian Roman Catholic prelate put the figure even higher (Sartorio, p. 104). A questionnaire sent out to Italian pastors of various denominations prominently engaged in Italian evangelization evoked the surprisingly unanimous reply, "About one-third."[1]

Religious indifference analyzed.—This indifference is often dislike of the priest, of perfunctory ecclesiastical service, of the compulsion to support, by presence and money, functions and ritual whose value, in the atmosphere of America, is more than ever discounted as trifling. It is insurgency against outworn superstition, and ignorance, often studiously perpetuated. There are many ex-students for the priesthood in America who began their studies and discouraged by the deadness of the study and the life to which it was leading them abandoned it. Fundamental faith has been bred out of the people, and the great verities taught but sparingly. The

[1] Mangano, *Religious Work among Italians in America,* p. 8.

sheep may not know their hunger, but if they do look up, they are not fed. They are the product of a hollow religious system which, even here, in its essentials, has been but slightly improved.

And yet in the minds of the larger number of these indifferent ones there is no renunciation of their Catholic faith. They do not know themselves as indifferent. Their mentality, as molded, is a Catholic mentality, and if they think at all they believe in the ideal of their church. They are not as yet atheists, they are simply poverty-stricken in essential religion. But simply because they are indifferent, they are not thereby Protestants, nor do they always give greater welcome to Protestant propaganda or absorb its teachings more sincerely. They are a legitimate field for whosoever is able to inspire them with vital religion. Yet since they claim no distinction from other "good" Italian Catholics, it is impossible to segregate them as objects of Protestant effort. Often it is true that Italians who have continued to believe in and observe the old faith, make the best evangelical Christians when convinced that the new is superior to the old. Former bigots are the best members of our Italian missions. They have capacity and zeal.

Indifferent Italian Catholics often retain the conventionalities and superstitions in which their religious heritage has abounded and to which ignorance has enslaved them. They would be distressed for the future state of their families were their members not baptized or buried or even married, in the bosom of the Church. They are apt to confound their esthetic feelings before the pageantry of altars with real religion. They continue to support fantastic street processions. Reverence for their patron saint, homage to his day and his altar continue to be scrupulously observed, when other religious practice is neglected. Fear of the evil eye, the con-

sequent wearing of charms, even respect for witchery and wizardry persist. Since these lines were first written, the writer has been informed of a young Italian girl in the first stages of tuberculosis, who believes herself bewitched. She sedulously goes for treatment to a so-called Italian doctor who has told her that her rejected lover in revenge for her refusal of him is taking her blood, hence her depleted physical condition.

The drift to socialism and atheism.—A lesser number of Italian-Americans are constantly passing through indifference to skepticism, and from skepticism to atheism. At some point of the way they break absolutely with the Roman Catholic Church. Their skepticism at the start is usually induced by overseas socialistic propaganda which exploits the abuses of the church. But the mistake is made of confounding all religion with ecclesiasticism. Christian faith of every name is rejected as an outworn superstition imposed upon the ignorant to keep them in social and economic subjection. A great throng of young Italians take this position. Many are members of organized clubs and engage in active propaganda by voice and pen. The writer was for some months in contact with such a club bearing the ambitious name of "Circle for Social Studies," the young men of which represented a number of brands of socialism, anarchism, and atheism. The noticeable thing about them was the defectiveness of their logic, the violence of their prejudice, and the onesidedness of their reading.

Undesirable moral results.—The most undesirable result of these defective religious attitudes is the materialism and immorality which they unleash. These are the natural result of that which is practically paganism. Along with the unsettlement of life in a new country, there is lacking the power of real religion to restrain passionate tempers and

strong sexual natures. And the normal Italian motive of saving, coupled with the adoption of the American ideal of "getting ahead," becomes swollen into materialistic and unscrupulous ambition, not seldom selfish and cruel. Hence arise those sordid extremes of Italian-American life to which we have alluded in a previous chapter.

The challenge to evangelical effort.—It should not be deduced from the foregoing survey of the seriousness of religious conditions among Italian-Americans that they are not open to religious approach. They can be reached. In fact the seriousness of the lack of real religion among them is in itself sufficient incentive to work among them. That the charge of proselyting should not distract, and that the motive of Protestant self-interest should reenforce the motive of altruistic service, Prof. Steiner adduces where he writes: "There is no institution in the United States which will be so profoundly affected by the immigrant as the Protestant church. Without him she will languish and die; with him she has a future. The Protestant church is called upon to lift the immigrant into a better conception of human relations for her own sake and for the sake of the communities which she wishes to serve. . . . This she must do even if it brings her under suspicion of proselyting. Indeed one of the growing weaknesses is the loss of those deep convictions which make proselyting easy."[2]

Italians and the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.—Two organizations which while repudiating all purpose or practice of proselyting, yet definitely seek to foster Christian character and friendliness through wholesome activity and contact with Christian personality, are the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian As-

[2] Steiner, *The Immigrant Tide: Its Ebb and Flow,* p. 326.

sociation. It is difficult to dissociate the work of the former from its general immigrant work. Aside from the association in Montreal, Canada, the writer knows of no association on this continent calling itself Italian, the few such efforts once initiated, having been abandoned. However, the sum total of service to those of Italian blood is large either through the normal activities of Y. M. C. A. buildings or through the port or community service of Americanization secretaries. The usual activities in the buildings are too expensive, of too high a grade, of too different a social sphere for the average Italian immigrant to share. In recent years the more Americanized youths have come to be no inconsiderable element, especially in departments located near Italian colonies. Contact is had more freely through employment bureaus and in English and naturalization classes, particularly where encouraged by employers in factories. Italian boys are being touched increasingly by athletic activities and summer camps of city associations and by the smaller groups of county and rural Y. M. C. A's. Boys and men have been interested in "thrift" and "safety-first" movements and in "block" organizations. Except during the war a large service of information, assistance and protection has been rendered to Italian immigrants at ports of departure, on shipboard, at arrival at large city railway stations. A great recent development has been the organization of outdoor community "sings" and concerts for the public of which Italians form a part, and the organization of racial concerts in which Italian groups, true to their native genius, have been prominent.

The Young Women's Christian Association has a distinct ministry to Italian women in its International Institute service for racial groups. It has a corps of Italian secretaries and work for Italian women and girls in thirty-four cities. It has re-

cently begun to touch isolated rural groups also. Activities promoted are study of English, educational, vocational, recreative. These are carried on through clubs, classes and lectures held wherever opportunity offers, and, not the least important, through home visitation. A valuable series of exceedingly attractive pamphlets has been issued under such titles as *Naturalization for Women, The Kindergarten, The Baby, The Problems of the Mother in a New Land, What America has for You,* etc. This has an Italian edition. For those at work for Italians, the Italian information in the regular bulletin, entitled, *Foreign-Born,* is very useful. The needs and problems of Italian women have been gone into elsewhere in this study. It is obvious that the intelligent, sympathetic service rendered to them by the Young Women's Christian Association is vital and merits extension.

Beginning of Italian Mission Churches.—The first Italian Protestant Church was founded in New York City in 1880 by the Rev. Antonio Arrighi, who, aged in service and pastor emeritus, still lives till this day the revered and beloved dean of Italian ministers. It is a pleasure also to record that his work remains to this moment a powerful and progressive nursery of Christian workers and energy. The first religious work among Italian immigrants was begun by active, conscientious members of neighboring churches aroused by the inadequacy of Italian conventional religion, the inactivity of the Roman Catholic Church and the apparent religious and moral abandonment of the Protestant denominations. Many churches have never awakened to their duty to their Italian neighbors and others have been unwilling to make the necessary effort and sacrifice. Later, when local means were insufficient, state or national church boards have taken charge of personnel

salaries and direction of the work. Both Presbyterians and Methodists recruited workers from overseas, the former chiefly from the Waldensians, the latter from their own stations in Italy. The Episcopalian workers have been, from the first, consecrated American men and women, who through friendliness and character won their way, often in spite of imperfect knowledge of the language.

The pioneers, Arrighi and Nardi.—Italian immigration has furnished some rarely intelligent and devoted religious leaders. One of these, Rev. Antonio Arrighi, an itinerant seller of busts, was converted by his host in an Iowa town. Trained in a Methodist Academy, college and theological school, he became the founder of the first Italian mission in the U. S. His large experience and educated judgment made him an invaluable guide.[3]

Rev. Michele Nardi, (the D. L. Moody of Italian Missions), was a business man of growing wealth and Italian Consul, well bred and educated and of winning personality. Converted through the reading of the Bible, he became an evangelist, traveling with his wife from Maine to California. He returned to Italy where he died from overwork in 1914. Making the Bible central in his preaching, without anti-clerical bitterness, coöperating freely with different denominations, a leader in tent and social work among Italians, a winner of young men, he became the spiritual father of scores of Italian preachers.[4] A Waldensian leader of exceptional influence among all denominations was Rev. Prof. Alberto Clot, at the time of his death, director of the bureau of immigration of the Waldensian Aid Society. He was a man of rare character, an accomplished speaker, whose death was lamented and

[3] *Antonio, the Galley Slave.*
[4] *Michele Nardi, His Life and Work,* by A. B. Simpson.

whose memory is revered by all who knew him. Mention should be made of Rev. Antonio Mangano, dean of the Italian Department of Colgate Theological Seminary, East Orange, N. J. Through the interest of a Long Island Baptist pastor and people, he was led to Christ. He graduated with honors from Brown University in 1899. He spent a year in Italy studying the language. He graduated from Union Theological Seminary in 1903, receiving the Master's degree from Columbia University the same year. After a second year in Italy, studying Italian immigration, he took up the same work here. After three years as pastor of the First Italian Baptist Church, he was elected to his present work. He is the author of *Sons of Italy,* a handbook on "religious work for Italians in America," and numerous articles in magazines. A missionary leader of his denomination says: "Dr. Mangano through the considerable number of Italian ministers whose training he has supervised has entirely changed the outlook of our Baptist work for Italians."

Part II

METHODS OF WORK

New methods and activities are being constantly tried out, and accepted or rejected in the field of Italian evangelization. Nevertheless after all these years, many activities have become standardized and integral in the program of every Italian mission. At least an approach to a standard program can be outlined (see Appendix "A"). Modifications of such a program of standard activities are being put into operation in three types of institutions: the social settlement, the institutional church, and the average church or mission. The impulse of the social gospel

SAN GIOVANNI IN CONCA, MILAN,
The oldest Waldensian Church in Italy.

ORCHESTRA OF THE ITALIAN CHURCH AND SCHOOL OF DANTE, WATERBURY, CONN.
Rev. P. CODELLA, Director.

and the adaptability of the settlement program to minister to all sorts of needs among Italians, has promoted a number of religious social settlements among them. Opinions differ as to whether the two plants should be separated or closely joined. Religious instruction may be attempted in the settlement itself. It may act as a feeder for the affiliated church and Sunday school. Sometimes the plant is at a distance from the church with no obvious connection between the two.

The American Parish in New York City encourages clubs and classes in the Italian churches and also conducts separate settlements. One denomination is planning to build 50 settlements or community houses for immigrant people. Many of these will have no direct connection with an individual church. For a list of the activities of Davenport Settlement, New Haven, Conn., in which church life is carried on in the plant (see Appendix "C"). For a schedule of the activities of the Judson Neighborhood House, New York City (Baptist), (see Appendix "B").

The institutional church.—A common form of service to Italians is the institutional church, which includes churches with a round of week day activities often carried on in ill-fitted basements, and plants rendering myriad forms of service of which the Chapel group of Grace Church Parish, N. Y., is an illustration. The list includes the chapel, hospital, parish house, clergy house, club house, mission houses and vicarage.

Friendly service the avenue to religious ministry.—In carrying out these lines of social endeavor, the motive in the mind of the worker is complex. He is working contrary to the Roman Catholic idea of religious activities solely in churchly buildings, adhering only to the fundamental idea that the church auditorium should be reserved for sacred functions. He is inspired by the humane service of Jesus. But

above all he realizes that the religious approach to Italians must be in large measure indirect, or must be made attractive and concrete through vivid activity and multiplied personal contact. The worker must be first and continuously friend if he would be spiritual minister. Hence a progressive Italian minister in an Italian colony, with some sort of plant at his disposal, sets in motion certain typical activities, not strictly religious, which ramify in unlimited variety as opportunity and staff of workers permit.

(I) *His first point of contact is with the Italian man as an immigrant.* He builds up a class in English and later in citizenship. Then a men's club, a mutual aid or death benefit society, or in rare instances establishes a coöperative store—activities, which because of the individualistic nature of the Italian, are most difficult of success and not seldom provocative of discord in the church.

(II) *In the second place he will seek to serve the children in order to found a Sunday school.* To this end he will organize the boys for games or athletics, and later a troop of Boy Scouts or a castle of the Knights of King Arthur. To reach the girls he will ask for an Italian woman missionary, or failing in that, an American woman worker, to establish a sewing class and perhaps a domestic science class.

(III) *A signal means of gaining the people's good will* is a day nursery and kindergarten, and in summer a Daily Vacation Bible School. A choir is of unrivaled attractiveness and usefulness, and, when expanded into a chorus and strengthened by an orchestra, is a tremendous asset to any Italian-American church. A veteran Congregational pastor has made a unique success by dividing his attention between music, English and citizenship, and church functions. Indeed there is no one combination more valuable than that of pastor and music master.

(IV) Because of the strategic place of the Italian

mother and the inability of the pastor freely to enter the Italian home, the woman missionary is essential to women's participation in church life and activities.

(V) An avenue of approach to the young people is their artistic and dramatic interest. Lectures, exhibitions, celebrations, concerts, pictures and social evenings call in the public and all members of the family. The program should be flexible, new activities taken up and old discontinued as their advantage or disadvantage is revealed. There are two major problems. The immigrant must first be persuaded to cross the threshold of a church building, so great is his fear of excommunication, and prejudice entertained against Protestants. The second is to win his heart. Activities must be used to disarm his prejudices, assist in winning his friendship, his affection for the church, and his allegiance to Christ and his ideals.

The Sunday school central.—The success or failure of the Sunday school is of the utmost importance. Had all the one-time Italian pupils in Sunday schools become church members, the task of Italian evangelization would be much nearer to completion than it is. Through the Sunday school many Italian parents have become interested in evangelical churches. It is likewise true that because parents were Protestants, the children have continued in Sunday school. That we need the parents, especially the mother, Italian pastors feel keenly. They generally agree that most Sunday schools in Italian missions should be conducted in English and that the teachers and lesson helps be American. But the use of English undoubtedly lessens the indifferent or nominal Catholic's interest in the school. Many Italian workers feel that there is lacking the proper shaping of courses and the note of Protestant apologetics in the teaching which should put con-

viction regarding Protestant ideals and attachment to the evangelical church into the heart of the Italian child during the impressionable years. Various Italian pastors, unable to cope easily with this burdensome problem in the Sunday school, are emphasizing their catechism classes. Also, discontented with the shortness of the Sunday school hour, they are calling together the scholars during the week, and making use of special courses. Many churches hold Bible Study for children on a week night, following it with stereopticon pictures and songs.

The ministry of evangelization.—Since immigration has been largely of young men, Italian pastors have found their predominant work to be a ministry calculated to win them. All other types of service have been necessarily subservient to evangelization: a giving of the living gospel to those who were without the gospel. Aside from the natural resentment of pastors who have emerged from the hollowness and uselessness of their native church, or the dislike of the immigrant for priestcraft and papal opposition to Italian national aspirations, the force of the preaching of the New Testament has been toward making a complete break with the Roman Catholic Church. This rupture has cleared away the ground completely and left to the Italian pastor the power and the responsibility for building entirely new church ideals and institutions. The actual result has been the adoption by the larger number of an ideal of the church which is radically Puritan, and unfortunately in many cases rabidly denominational.

Variant ideals of the church held by Italian Protestants.—In contrast to the above is the ideal of Protestant work for Italians of the Anglican or High Episcopal Church. This ideal commends itself to many Americans who know the Italian's natural

delight in color and ceremony, or who are familiar with the Modernist in Italy who is Catholic but not papal. High church Italian rectors would slough off papal superstition, while retaining many features of Catholic ritual. They make much of the ideal of "Catholic" in the broad sense, asserting not only the authority of the New Testament but of the early Church Fathers. Recently the great future for Anglicanism in work for Italians has been vigorously championed.[5] However churches of this type have not yet developed any extraordinary growth or staying power, and what success has been attained seems due to the personality of the rector rather than his method of approach. Indeed the strongest Episcopal churches seem to be those of the more liberal and socially-minded type. The "Catholic, but not Roman" type occasionally incurs the derision of the Italian population through their use of certain Italian Roman Catholic ceremonies which are held in tolerant contempt by the more enlightened class of Italian colonists.

By far the larger number of Protestant Italian churches and missions in the United States have been the fruit of a vigorous evangelistic preaching of the gospel.

Usefulness of street preaching and tent work.— To many immigrants the evangelistic message has come as something entirely new. Scenes of conversion have occurred which recall the early church. Thousands hold the Gospel as a watchword, a token of emancipation from ignorance, superstition and profitless ceremony. It has been equally effectual with those who were formerly churchmen, those who have been sincere and fanatical Catholics, and those who have abandoned all religious practices. This evangelism has made a large use of street and tent

[5] Capozzi, *Protestantism and the Latin Soul.*

preaching. Through it Italian pastors have gone out to people who would not come to them, that having gained their confidence, they might attract them to the church. Such work requires courage and ability. The preacher has often been the target of the derision and rowdy violence of the bigoted. The Italian church of the Ascension in New York was built up by open air and tent preaching. Preaching on church steps and lawns is also common. These methods are exceptionally useful in dispelling prejudice and disarming malicious gossip concerning Protestants. Such services are only aids to all-the-year-around preaching of the gospel indoors.

Pastoral friendship vital.—Above every other factor, with the average Italian Protestant, the pastor and his staff make the church. The number who can be attracted within the walls will vary with the number of contacts which can be made with the colony through the sympathetic personality and sincere friendship of the workers, shown through calls made and service rendered to individuals and families, not the buying of the interest but the winning of their love and good will. Members are not members who are had "for a shovelful of coal." But the patient explanation necessary to drive home unfamiliar gospel truth, and the friendliness which is vital in making it convincing, is possble only by home calling and multiplied errands of mercy. The custom of the people which restricts the calling of the minister upon the women of the family during the absence of the men greatly limits his acquaintance with them and makes imperative either the missionary service of the pastor's wife or the employment of a woman missionary, of sterling qualities, for, as has been previously stated, no family is securely evangelized until the mother is won.

The matter of church edifice.—Able leadership succeeded in founding many of the missions still

flourishing, in stores and mean, little halls. Enduring Italian congregations must be housed in church edifices which approach in a modest way at least the ecclesiastical dignity of architecture of Roman Catholic churches. Either a new structure, or an old American church made over to them, or the privilege of the use of the edifice of some American church, must provide (whatever its antecedents) an edifice decent and churchly. If the church edifice is not central in the Italian colony, the growth of the work will suffer. Of course it should be pleasing, well-ventilated, well-heated and well-lighted. The interior finish, windows, organ and pulpit furnishings should be as beautiful as may be.

It is Italian usage that the church auditorium or the room which serves for the solemn religious services be reserved for those, or for dignified and serious functions. Hence that church incurs severe criticism from the population which employs its church auditorium for popular exhibitions, socials and entertainments. The writer was once reprimanded by a church deacon because in a beautiful allegorical Easter exercise, the stereopticon was used to light up the platform and the usage reminded the worthy official of a spot-light. A hall, such as the Sunday school room ordinarily is, is a very desirable and useful part of any Italian church plant, and if it has a separate entrance there will be no objection to its use for all sorts of social functions.

Appropriate ritual.—Mention has already been made of the ideal of picturesque ritual held by some. The better way would seem to be to foster the ideal of "beauty in simplicity" rather than imitate in any sense "the decadent showiness of the modern Italian Roman Catholic altar and rite," which Italians, who have become Protestants, in most cases, resent. The service should be rich in music and

Scripture, and solemn in prayer, adapted to the mentality of its hearers who should participate as far as they are able. The minister ought to be appropriately dressed and his choir may be vested.

Such is the dislike of the word, "Protestant," with which Italian-Americans have been imbued, it is better policy, when making contact with them for the first time, to emphasize our name of "evangelical churches," which is accepted with approbation.

The effective message.—The Italian needs a gospel of high personal character and brotherhood, illustrated by altruism, coöperation and service, but this obtains no grip on the ordinary, uninformed, undisciplined, and almost uncivilized peasant who comes to America. The Sicilian, intense in his loves and hates, is not transformed by strivings after high ideals, intellectually admired. Italians both on the mainland and in Sicily need a supreme, personal loyalty to some one whose love and service is the all-embracing motive of his life. They have found a crude substitute in the often vulgarly elaborated and picturesque worship of the Virgin Mary and the saints. The gospel which he needs is the ancient message of the apostolic church—the Biblical gospel of Jesus Christ—that he is a living Christ, whose presence and help may be had by all, through whom alone prayer may be made. Only a vital, vivid, entirely-believed-in Christ can take the place of his old faith. Such a love for Christ implanted in the Italian mind and heart becomes an extraordinary power—"The expulsive power of a new affection."

Meeting the forces of error.—He will not be won by intense anti-clerical attacks upon the Pope, priests and church. Such negative preaching gains few permanent hearers, does not breed respect for the preacher and does not build up a congregation in faith and character. The Italian preacher who has

much anti-clericalism is likely to have too little gospel. The Italian's intellectual level must be raised by simply contrasting Roman Catholic error and evangelical truth, not forgetting the great verities and glories that are common alike to the Catholic and Evangelical faiths. But only the preaching of unadulterated, evangelical truth is constructive, disarming prejudice and winning men.

Instances of conversion among Italians.—Italian-Americans remain unmoved by the phenomenon of a great revival. They have no knowledge of the Bible or of evangelical beliefs hidden away as a vital spark in their souls such as the American population has. But when by one means or another the good news of the gospel becomes familiar, as remarkable cases of conversion occur as among any other race. An Italian, confined for many months in jail, awaiting trial on charge of murder, read and reread the Italian Bible brought to him by his evangelical godfather, and was completely convinced. Upon release he promptly ordered his family to have nothing further to do with the priest, and sought out the Italian minister to whom, until then, he was unknown. A young Italian immigrant, after a year or two of high school training, became the only successful Italian-American jockey, a youth of large earnings and reckless spending. One night in the far west he followed a street meeting within doors. He was moved to the depths by the illustration used by the speaker of a brokendown racehorse, and was converted. He immediately abandoned his career. Returning to his old home in an eastern state, inexperienced and opposed, out of his scanty means as a factory operative, he set up an Italian mission. Later while making an enviable record in France during the war, he kept count of over four hundred pals whom he had sought to evangelize in the trenches. Since his discharge from service he has been in

preparation for the ministry in the Biblical Seminary in New York City. Unwilling to be idle in doing practical work, he has preached in the open air, and won a gang of forty young men of previous unsavory reputation to church attendance and nine of them to church membership.

Aside from the Sunday school, many pastors are constrained to hold their young people despite the regrets of the parents, by a service for them in English, and have even organized for them separate English congregations. Thus Broome St. Tabernacle in New York has seen the disappearance of the old American congregation, the coming in of the Italian-speaking church, and now again the use of English through the organization of a congregation of Americans exclusively of Italian blood.

Unstable membership and finances.—As in other phases of Americanization, the Italian-American church is a school in coöperation, for a people in large part primitive and undeveloped in the art of organization. Even the most tactful and sincere pastors here travel a rocky road. In the first place their constituency is very mobile. Besides the defections of adherents who have no root in themselves, in meeting the unpopularity which the evangelical profession incurs in the average Italian colony, there is the constant shifting of a population unstable industrially. Hence many of our missions have witnessed, in their few short years of life, a complete turnover, once, or maybe several times, of their membership. This means that pastors have done, as they were compelled to do, an admirable work of constant and active recruiting. It also means that they are ever at the beginnings in preaching the fundamentals, in the problems of pastoral care, in the development of church loyalty and of the habit of giving and self-support. The difficulty of our pastors in securing substantial and especially regular

contributions from a people which in their original church never gave, but always paid for supposedly value received, and in which the primary motive is saving even to the point of avarice, is now pretty thoroughly understood. The successes which have been achieved in congregational giving, apparently so modest, deserve greater recognition than they have received. They have been possible only in churches of exceptional size, stability and degree of Americanization, exceptionally led. It is improbable that any church composed chiefly of the usual peasant type of immigrants will ever come to self-support, providing for the salary of its staff. However, due to skillful and persistent effort, large sums are being contributed in a few churches to church expenses and even towards the pastor's salary, and a degree of sympathetic giving is being attained. Entering upon regular, charitable, monetary obligations is the last idea which certain primitive Italian minds will entertain, although they will give generously, on occasion, to single causes for which their sympathy is enlisted.

Along with this trait there goes a deficient sense of organization. It is exceedingly difficult to exclude personal ambition, partisan jealousies, too tender sensibilities, and to secure the acceptance of the will of the majority by the minority as a necessary procedure. Leadership must be firm, the pastor avoiding the disaster of weakly yielding on the one hand, and imposing his will on the other. Many a man would have been in despair over the checkered career of affairs in his church had he not realized that good and ill were all a part of unfolding Christianization and Americanization.

The right relationship of Italians and Americans in the work of Italian evangelization is of first importance. Evangelical work among them has often been made or marred by the attitude of the Ameri-

cans doing it. Awed by American hurry and efficiency, the Italian peasant immigrant may be outwardly undemonstrative in the presence of Americans, but inwardly he is proud and shrewd. He is quick to detect insincerity and to resent indifference, superiority or imposition. If, at the worst, he seems grasping in taking what America offers, at his best, he is humble, eager to learn and deeply grateful for the kindness shown him.

Types of church organization.—Out of these circumstances there have arisen three forms of organization in Italian-American evangelization: the mission, the independent church and the branch church. In the mission type the adherents become members of the American church with which at times they join in worship as in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In some part of its plant they hold regular services in Italian. Frequently the children join in the American Sunday school and the Italian pastor is a part of the staff of the American church. The type of the independent church is not noticeably different from its American sister of the same denomination. The branch church is a combination of both types. It probably has its own edifice. Mainly it has its own organization and services. It is closely linked to the American church, the counsel and aid of which it enjoys. Many consider this the preferable form as it permits the freedom of organization useful for development among Italians, while affording a stimulating and restraining relationship with Americans.

Relationships of Americans and Italians engaged in evangelization.—The work was initiated, in most instances, by American churches, and has been maintained by them, or by national, state, or city missionary societies of various denominations. There has always and quite properly been American supervision. Such supervision should be close and sympa-

thetic. Americans have too often judged the work according to American standards of church success, and have demanded too quick results both numerical and financial. The Italians have not always grasped the ideals which actuated American workers or superintendents, and Americans have not always taken account of the primitive nature of the Italians and the necessity of presenting a gospel adapted to them. But it is also true that the success of some of our missions is directly traceable to big-hearted American men and women, generous with means and sympathy, and immensely patient and painstaking. They have understood the Italians or have blotted out all mistakes of method by the heartiness of their love for this people. That work is likely to fail in which in the absence of pronounced statistics of progress, American friends or directors cannot preserve their faith in Italians and consider that the work, large or small, must be done if needy souls should have at least the opportunity to hear the invitation of the Kingdom of God.

Advances in supervision.—Some steps have been taken to link up American churches and missionary societies and directorates with Italian missions and churches depending upon them. This has been accomplished through the employment of American supervisors proficient in the Italian language and sociology, and of Italian pastors-at-large who have the ear of Italian churches and happy connections with American authorities as well. It has also been fostered by special church committees for Italian work composed of persons of infinite tact and interest. It is essential that Italian pastors should understand the American point of view and know how to coöperate with Americans. It is also exceedingly important that American pastors in touch with Italian communities should study them and their characteristics. For much of the second generation

which is evangelical is going to come into the membership of the American churches. The wisest Italian pastors are already recommending to the care of affiliated American churches certain of their youthful elements of such a cast of Americanization that they are no longer at home in the Italian missions. However they are persistently encouraging such persons to return to their native churches as helpers in the Sunday school, etc. The American pastor must know how to assure them a rightful, comfortable, active part in American church life if he would not lose them to his church and probably to all church connection.

Italian-Americans in American churches.—Although statistics are lacking to demonstrate the fact, the number of Italian-Americans being admitted to American churches directly from those smaller Italian colonies where there are no missions is constantly increasing. Such instances, often of very happy import, are due to the cordiality of the American brethren and the constant friendliness of the American minister. To give but one example,—there are valued Italian-American members in several American churches of the industrial towns of the Naugatuck valley in Connecticut. Recently in one of these churches the mother of an Italian family invited the American minister to make a special call upon them. In the course of it she said to him: "We, as a family, are now earning $2,000 a year. We think a great deal of the church. We are able and we ought to do something for it. Here are $50 for the church and $50 for the 'World Movement.' "

Growth in efficiency of Italian pastors.—Due to larger discrimination in employing Italian missionaries in these later years, and to the weeding out of inefficients, Italian pastors have risen greatly in the estimation of their American brethren, and are commanding greater respect as experts in their chosen

field. Such esteem is being reflected in the raising of salaries and the assignment of larger responsibilities. This increase of fellowship has remedied an unfortunate condition of isolation which many pastors have felt in the past. *Esprit de corps* is also being cultivated by occasional and regular joint conferences of Italian pastors, American directors and others interested. Among the Presbyterians, who are well advanced in Italian work, a system of biennial conferences with well defined organization has been established. And the difference between the first conference held so recently as 1916 and that of 1920 was remarkable. The growth in the spirit of harmony and coöperation, in the ability to speak English, and in the general tone of morale and efficiency on the part of the individual workers was marked. It seems to the writer from his personal acquaintance with a number of pastors of several denominations that this improvement in spirit and status is true throughout the Italian field.

Part III

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

The subject of religious literature for circulation among Italian-Americans grows in importance as their degree of literacy advances. The increasing power of the secular Italian-American press, what it is and what it might be, has been noted. On occasions it reflects the common and recurrent hostility to Protestant work for Italians especially where any scandal has been uncovered in evangelical circles. The editors are generally willing to accept evangelical news and notices, and have been known to seek the aid of Protestant pastors in enlarging their subscription list. Doubtless their publicity could be

used more largely to good advantage by our churches, but very few would dare to lend themselves for any length of time to systematic Protestant propaganda however irenic.

Italian-American religious papers.—The writer has information of four Roman Catholic papers in Italian in America. There is at least one publishing agency of that faith for that language. Six denominational Protestant bodies have publishing houses dealing in material for Italian work. There are besides these the tract societies and the American Bible Society. The latter, aside from the matter of the Scriptures in the tongue, has rendered valuable aid to missions through the evangelizing ability of its colporteurs. Seven religious papers are published, five of which are weeklies. Four of these report a circulation of from 1,500 to 2,750 copies. Four have been established longer than the others, namely *L'Era Nuova,* Presbyterian; *La Fiaccola,* Methodist; *L'Aurora,* Baptist; *L'Ape Evangelica,* United Presbyterian. The others are: *La Verita in Carita,* Episcopalian; *I Segni dei Tempi,* Seventh Day Adventist; *Il Vessillo,* also United Presbyterian.[6]

These papers have gone through various changes in seeking to serve their constituencies, and, while realizing the unlimited value they might be, they are still not very satisfactory to their publishers nor to the rank and file of pastors and members. They have reflected the experimental nature of Italian evangelization. In one or more of them there has been noted a tendency of catering too exclusively to the pastors, while the general consensus of opinion is that their primary purpose is to evangelize and educate the rank and file. Hence some pastors have preferred the small sheets published in Italy as more

[6] *New American Studies, Interchurch World Movement Literature,* Miss Amy Blanche Greene.

adapted to humbler readers. To this end of general evangelization, improvements in matter and technique would be valuable. These papers print the larger part of Sunday school helps which are extant, and have been active in temperance work. They are adapting themselves to the character of their readers in becoming bilingual. And with regard to them, the unfortunate presence of denominationalism among Italians becomes acute. The ideal of a strong interdenominational religious paper is being constantly agitated, as contrasted with these various poorly supported papers of lesser value. But their value to their respective denominations as denominational organs has also been felt, and only as this study goes to press is a paper uniting several of these sheets being planned for.

Tract literature.—The usefulness of tracts is unquestioned in the Italian field. The habit of the class of Italian immigrants here in America of reading, not books, but small articles, hand-bills, and diminutive newspapers, shows the attention which small tracts of a single or few pages obtain, and were they well and adaptably written, the great power they would have. At this later day of Italian evangelization, their further value, if they are bilingual, is obvious. This is a need which has never been well met. American societies have put forth a modest number of tracts in Italian, and a larger number have been imported from Italy, some of which were considered worthless even there. Few pastors, while recognizing the need, have felt themselves able to produce such tracts, while some of those who have were actuated chiefly by anti-clerical or controversial motives. The defects of the existing tracts are defects of language, and probably even more of psychology. They were unadapted to the Italian people, either translations of Anglo-Saxon tracts, or filled with terms which Italians do

not understand and an over abundance of Scripture, the point of which is lost because many Italians would not recognize it as such. They frequently have treated of persons, not Italian, and therefore who do not command the interest of Italians. A few tracts of genuine excellence have been issued, forged out of the experience of pastors to meet an absolute need. When catechisms, or serving a catechetical purpose in the instruction of new converts, they have been especially good.

The cost and difficulty of printing has retarded the attacking of this problem. Certain energies have gone into producing technical Americanization rather than religious material. There is need that some interdenominational agency, completely and economically supply all churches working for Italians with tract material, simple, fundamental, avoiding polemics. It should be evangelistic and apologetic and sound the notes of personal righteousness, social service and Christian Americanization. There are indications that in the near future such material will be in some measure forthcoming, for the work is greatly handicapped without it.

Italian hymnology.—A need second only to the above is the improvement and enrichment of Italian evangelical hymnology. Outside of hymns the race has practically no Protestant anthems or oratorios. Many of the hymns are translations, in many cases happy, in other cases not. Often they have been wrought out by necessity, and hastily and illy adapted to the music. The work which has been done has indeed been well worth while and a great service rendered, but the extant hymnals are lacking in technique, in selection of tunes, in adaptability to average congregations, and are limited in range of subjects, treating chiefly of personal evangelism and little of character, contact and service. One is sometimes tempted to think that the poetical and musical

quality of certain hymnals produced in Italy make them superior to any produced in America, until he realizes that they are even more deficient than ours in the directions just stated. The forthcoming interdenominational hymnal there is eagerly anticipated.

For religious books, technical and popular, and for religious magazines, we are obliged to look to Italy, where such a religious review as *Bilychnis,* published under Baptist auspices, commands the attention of a wide circle, and is being found increasingly serviceable by American-Italian pastors.

Chapter V

PROBLEMS OF RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

Above everything else the success or failure of Italian-American churches has rested with their leadership. The truthfulness of this statement was never more evident than at this late stage of Italian evangelization. And the whole question properly bids fair to be treated more adequately and intelligently in the near future than it ever has been before.

Early denominational leaders were confronted with two alternatives in providing leadership for the Italian missions which they sought to establish: (1) the importation of Italian ministers from Italy, or (2) the use of such Protestant Italians as were at hand. We have seen that Waldensian pastors were called to the Presbyterian missions which Rev. Michele Nardi left in his wake, and that Italian Methodists trained in Italy were summoned to the opening work of their denomination in the United States. These, when well qualified and well furnished with American support, did valuable work in so far as they adapted themselves to special American conditions. From time to time others have come, and have given of their strength and thorough training to our work. A slight tendency has existed on the part of some Waldensian pastors here to devote themselves too exclusively to Waldensian families rather than reach out broadly in Italian evangelization.

But this personnel derived from overseas never has been sufficient for American needs. And rarely have candidates for the Italian ministry been found

such as Rev. Antonio Arrighi, both of large ability and patience to complete a thorough training. In lieu of other leaders many Italian immigrants were called to direct Italian missions whose only qualification was a fair degree of intelligence and consecration plus a modicum of intellectual training. Naturally in the school of experience many were failures. But a few, tried as if by fire, came forth successes. There is hardly an Italian colony of some years' standing which has not had its experience of inferior men, deficient in mental quality, morality or tact. And to this day it is next to impossible to work in certain fields owing to the remembrance of previous disasters due to such causes. Many leaders of experience have come, too, to question the wisdom of employing ex-priests. There have been too many disastrous results. Even the ex-priests, who have become efficient Protestant ministers, have found it difficult to gain the confidence of the Italian people, because they are considered as having betrayed their one-time vows, however sincerely the step of abandoning Romanism was taken.

Perhaps the majority do not succeed in making their message positively evangelical, but are too largely absorbed in anti-clerical propaganda and preaching. Some Protestant authorities have lately begun to follow the Waldensian practice, which rarely ordains an ex-priest to the evangelical ministry, and then only after years of Protestant study and training in association with colleagues born Protestants.

A second step in providing leadership for Italian-American missions was the establishment of schools, denominational and undenominational, or departments of theological seminaries for their training sometimes in conjunction with candidates of other immigrant nationalities, sometimes by themselves. Such provision was made by the Presbyterians at

Bloomfield, New Jersey, where a combination of academic and theological subjects is taught and where among others there is an Italian professor. A similar Presbyterian institution with less Italian clientele is located at Dubuque, Iowa. In 1907 the Italian Department of Colgate Theological Seminary was opened in Brooklyn, but is now a part of the International Seminary at East Orange, N. J. Most of the younger men at work for the Baptist denomination have been trained in this institution. Some of them have taken advanced courses in other institutions. Men for these, and other denominations without theological schools for Italians, have been trained in considerable numbers in the Italian department of the Biblical Seminary in New York, formerly the Bible Teachers' Training School, and a few at Moody Institute in Chicago.

A wide difference of opinion exists as to the amount of preparation necessary for admission to theological training and to the work of the ministry and missions, and this is especially true in training for work among our immigrant peoples. Well-known seminaries offer courses leading to diplomas (but not degrees) to students with but partial or no college training. Hebrew and Greek are elective. Training schools for workers in city missions and among our foreign peoples often accept students of insufficient preparation who must devote much of their time to subjects not usually in a theological curriculum. We believe that the training acquired is not a sufficient basis for a successful ministerial career. The larger portion of Italian ministers successful during long years of service have passed through an American college or have taken a full course in a theological seminary.

This then is the situation: Some Italian missions carried on without serious and far-reaching plans by ill-trained men without much personality have com-

manded scant consideration by the American authority and have, in some cases, entirely failed. Other missions are growing in efficiency and their leaders, possessed of staying power because of adequate training, are drawing increasing attention and respect from the American churches.

It has been proved fatal to do work for the Italians in a mean way or with inferior men. The Italian missionary needs to be more and better trained even than his American colleague. He is a specialist with two races and a combination of them. He must have at his command both Italian and American culture. He must make himself most truly Italian and most truly American.

This proposition is being recognized by all the major denominational leaders engaged in Italian work. They are dissatisfied with the character and quantity of the training of the men going out from their specialized schools, and are urging the best of them to pursue further study. There is variety in the suggestions offered for improvement of these schools, but there is unanimity in the belief that the training is not enough in quantity, and should be supplemented in some cases with further acquaintance with Italian language and sociology and in other cases with study of American theology and practice. Further study in American seminaries is considered desirable, as is also a year or more of study in Italy. A sign of the unrest and groping for something better in this line is the proposal that some one denomination take over at a regular theological seminary all the specialized training in church leadership for one race, and another denomination assume that for another race. Another sign is the recent formation of the Association of Institutions engaged in Missionary Training, a committee of which has been instructed to bring in a report on *Training for Work among Foreigners.*

Specifically from the administration side the questions involved are:

(1) Is there not indefensible waste in maintaining several denominational elementary schools of theology for immigrants, schools which foster an excessive attachment to denominationalism?

(2) What shall be the division of labor among denominations at this point?

(3) Is the association of immature students of several races in a polyglot school advantageous?

(4) How can immigrant students be associated more with American students of both sexes, and with American church life for their better Americanization?

It seems necessary to secure our young, illy-trained immigrant or American youth of Italian parents, who may have no means, no parental support, little comprehension of long-time, thorough training, but who has been inspired by his minister with the ideal of entering Christian service. Let it be emphasized that he must be caught young and perhaps with very elementary education. He must be put where he may get vision and preparatory training, and so inspired and molded in his ideas that he will insist on further training. On the one hand he must not be tempted to go into active work too soon; and on the other he must be financially supported until he shall have complete training even to a year's study in Italy. The game is worth the candle; it has already been proven so in specific instances.

One interesting variation in Italian leadership has been the employment in Italian missions of Americans speaking Italian. Apparently it is the Episcopalian denomination which has profited especially from the labors of workers, men and women, who have made use of an unofficial acquaintance with Italians and things Italian, to build up Italian Episcopalian missions. But workers of more than one

denomination have spent time in Italy with this object in view, and churches of several faiths have provided fellowships for American students that they might during a longer or shorter time prepare themselves for leadership in Italian work. One American at least has attained a degree of efficiency in the language which enables him to carry on all the functions of an Italian church as active pastor. It would not be advisable, even if it were possible as in the above case, to have many American pastors in the pulpit of Italian churches. Many Italians cherish a racial pride which makes them unwilling to accept such a relationship. But such men have a distinct value as supervisors or executive pastors over several churches, or as liaison officers between the Italian parishes and American missionary authority. The Italian pastors feel that here is one American pastor who fully understands them and their problems, and the American pastor in contact with Italian colonies has one to whom to refer his puzzling experiences with that portion of the community.

Women missionaries.—We have already stated the need, little short of an absolute want, of a woman missionary in every Italian mission if a proper work be carried on among the women and children. There are some highly efficient Italian missionaries scattered through the churches, and they are appropriately valued and esteemed. Their scarcity is perhaps the most pressing problem of the moment. They command salaries the equal of those of many pastors. The hardships and labors of their life have become well known. And it is only occasionally that an Italian girl is willing or able to take all the steps to prepare herself for this service. Hence many American women missionaries are called upon to choose this especial task and do their best, serving the children and, with greater handicap, the Italian

women. Friendliness and good-will have done much even under language difficulties.

It is of course true that a good preparatory training is of great advantage before specialized training as deaconess or missionary is taken. Several denominations offer this specialized training in excellent schools. The pressing demand for their graduates is increased by the employment of so many women by the Young Women's Christian Association in its International Institutes. Italian women students are received at the Biblical Seminary in New York, formerly the Bible Teachers' Training School. Many valued missionaries are graduates of the training school of the New York City Missionary Society at Gramercy Park or of the Schauffler Missionary Training School at Cleveland, Ohio. The International College of Springfield, Mass., has sent forth women workers from its social service course.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

What is to be the future of the Italian-American churches? Will they continue to exist as a special group? The conviction is that they will continue to exist and to call for American sympathy and support as long as this generation of immigrants of the peasant degree of culture is alive, and is recruited by fresh immigration. The present outlook is that Italian immigration will continue a mighty stream indefinitely. Hence Italian-American pastors and churches will have a place and work for a time indefinitely long.

As an intermediate stage in the process of Americanization of their sons and daughters, American churches of Italian blood will spring up here and there, and continue as such for a limited time. But more and more American youth of Italian blood of a certain stage of Americanization will be drawn to the American churches, and there find their proper place. More and more American pastors will study Italian colonies and learn how to win Italian-American families to membership and fellowship in American-speaking churches.

Italian-American missions have been one of the longest established and best forces for Americanization. In their probable future as outlined above, it would seem that like the school they will become a substantial force in racial assimilation. The churches will become a most wholesome meeting ground for Italian youth and young people of other races with resulting intermarriage. And further since the best patriotism is religious, and intelligent religion is patriotic in America, the church imbuing

such youth with broad ideals cannot be other than a powerful force for national unification.

Inasmuch as this bright and beckoning hope for the future depends for its accomplishment upon Italian-American churches, and their American friends, the following recommendations are offered:

(I) That Italian pastors strive unceasingly to inspire choice young men and women to prepare themselves for a life-work of Christian service among their fellow countrymen and countrywomen.

(II) That a high standard of character and training be insisted upon in candidates for the pastorate of Italian missions. That veteran and successful Italian pastors and missionaries be considered as experts in their field and be so rated financially and socially.

(III) That more American theological students and pastors study sociology and the Italian language and seek directly and definitely to make the American churches minister to Italians living within the bounds of their parishes.

(IV) That American church members seek to know such Italians, in no patronizing sense, but upon the basis of frankness, sympathy and democracy.

(V) That the value of the service to be rendered by the Italian mission be constantly emphasized in the American church having such a mission under its care; and that the most sympathetic and devoted laymen be appointed to committees to guide and serve such affiliated missions.

(VI) That directorates of missionary societies provide for a closer and more intelligent supervision of Italian missions, their policy always taking into account both American church ideals and methods, and Italian psychology.

(VII) That denominationalism be minimized and its jealousies rigorously eliminated, for efficiency in the central task of evangelization in Italian parishes

and colonies, for accord in the proper solution of the problem of theological preparation, and for coöperatian and economy in religious publicity and literature.

(VIII) That Italian pastors train themselves more consciously in the art of meeting Americans and cooperating with them; that they inform themselves of all proper agencies dealing with Americanization and Christianization and coöperate with them, in so far as circumstances permit.

(IX) That Italian pastors avoid attacks upon the Roman Catholic Church and upon socialism; but, rather cultivate in themselves and in their members the art of sympathetic approach to bigoted Romanists, and socialists bitter towards Christianity.

(X) That Italian pastors teach and exemplify the ideal of community service, in order that evangelical convictions may bear their proper fruit in serviceful living.

(XI) That the building of attractive and useful edifices, which enhance the respect of Italian-Americans for Protestantism, become a definite policy.

(XII) That the service of worship in Italian missions be a subject of constant study, the aim being to produce through church music, procedure, vesture and atmosphere, an adapted and effective Italian-American Protestant ritual.

(XIII) That Italian pastors study to make the program of social work minister to and win all members of the Italian family.

(XIV) That Sunday Schools dealing with Italian-American children be assisted by the best American teachers obtainable; that curriculum and methods be adopted which take into account the peculiar needs and habits of Italian life and thought; and that constant endeavor be made to bring the Sunday School message and friendships back to the parents in the home.

Appendix A

EXAMPLE OF A COMPLETE PROGRAM FOR ITALIAN MISSIONS

A Home Missions Program offered by the Committee on Policy for the Board of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church:

I. Approach to the family as a whole
   (a) Home visitor, a woman speaking Italian, with American training and American spirit. Such a one, bilingual, could work with little children in English, and conduct other classes possibly in Italian. The future objective to be Italian women thoroughly trained.
   (b) Family gathering for everybody in the church parlors or house. Music, games, pictures, etc. Recognize the family unit.
   (c) Meetings in the home. The coming in of the stranger draws all the neighbors so that a program may be used. Special attention to home meetings for girls.

II. Approach to the family for adult Italian groups
   (a) Bilingual staff members: a lawyer, physician, employment agent, and a printer whose service may be used for help among the Italians in the community.
   (b) Religious service of worship in Italian.
   (c) Mothers' Club in Italian.
   (d) Men's clubs for learning English and citizenship.

(e) Use of Italian literature.
(f) Religious instruction in Italian.
(g) Illustrated lectures and moving pictures.
(h) Italian festas and patriotic days as point of contact: celebration of the 20th of September for example.
(i) Making use of musical interest.

III. Approach in English to children and young people.
(a) Attendance upon English church service.
(b) Religious instruction in the Sunday school.
(c) Related week-day club activities, emphasis being on expressional work such as:
Recreational Club
Gymnasium Club
Choral societies
Dramatic clubs
Boy Scouts
Knights of King Arthur
Campfire Girls
Sewing
Cooking
Painting
Drawing
Sculpturing
(d) Illustrated lectures and moving pictures.
(e) Daily Vacation Bible School.
(f) Flower Mission.
(g) Fresh Air Work.
(h) Camps.

IV. Training for non-English speaking leaderships. The manifest needs are:
1. American ministers trained for work among Italians.

2. Italian men trained for work among Italians in this country.
3. Training for Italian lay workers.
4. Training for Italian women workers.
5. Training for American women for work among Italians.

Appendix B

SCHEDULE OF JUDSON NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE

(*Baptist*)

179 Sullivan Street, South of Washington Square, New York City.

Miss Allene Bryan .....Head Worker
Miss Hazel Ilsley .....Girls' Worker
Miss G. Rousseau .....Kindergartner
Mrs. Bessie L. Burger .....Matron
Miss Flora Osgood .....Nurse
Miss E. Frazier .....Assistant Nurse

Sunday:

10:00—11:30 A.M. Bible School (Italian Church).

Monday:

7:30— 6:00 P.M. Day Nursery.
9:00—12:00 A.M. Kindergarten.
3:30— 5:00 P.M. Gymnasium Class.
3:30— 5:00 P.M. Nutrition Class.
3:30— 5:00 P.M. Recreation Club.
4:00— 5:30 P.M. Music School.
7:30— 9:00 P.M. Dramatic Club.
7:30— 9:00 P.M. Boys' Club.
7:30— 9:00 P.M. Nutrition Class.

Tuesday:

7:30— 6:00 P.M. Day Nursery.
9:00—12:00 A.M. Kindergarten.
2:30— 5:30 P.M. Dental Clinic.
3:30— 5:00 P.M. Make Good Club.
3:30— 5:00 P.M. Hand Craft Club.
7:30— 9:00 P.M. English and Civic School.
7:30— 9:00 P.M. Boys' Club.
7:30— 9:00 P.M. Girl Reserves.

Wednesday:

7:30— 6:00 P.M.	Day Nursery.
9:00—12:00 A.M.	Kindergarten.
3:30— 5:00 P.M.	Nutrition Class.
3:30— 5:00 P.M.	Junior S. S. Group, 3 Clubs.
7:00— 9:30 P.M.	Dental Clinic.
7:30— 9:00 P.M.	Bible Classes and Italian Prayer Service.
7:30— 9:00 P.M.	Boys' Club.

Thursday:

7:30— 6:00 P.M.	Day Nursery.
9:00—12:00 A.M.	Kindergarten.
2:00— 4:00 P.M.	Dental Clinic.
2:30— 5:00 P.M.	Boys' Club.
3:30— 5:00 P.M.	Music School.
7:30— 9:00 P.M.	Scouts.
7:30— 9:00 P.M.	Older Boys' Clubs, 3 Clubs.
7:30— 9:00 P.M.	English and Civic School.

Friday:

7:30— 6:00 P.M.	Day Nursery.
9:00—12:00 A.M.	Kindergarten.
3:30— 5:00 P.M.	Nutrition Class.
7:30— 9:00 P.M.	Senior S. S. Group.

Saturday:

7:30—12:00 A.M.	Day Nursery.
10:00—12:00 A.M.	Industrial School.
5:00— 6:00 P.M.	Music School.
7:30—10:00 P.M.	Family Night.

Appendix C

PROGRAM OF DAVENPORT SETTLEMENT, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Social Clubs
- Little Playmates
- Work-and-Play
- Defenders
- Young Americans
- Red Rose
- Kolawita
- Arrows
- Beacons
- Hustlers
- Greene Rivals
- Academics
- Elmwoods

Religious Work
- Italian Sunday School
- Italian Sunday School Teachers' Meeting
- Midweek Prayer Meeting
- Midweek Bible Study—Juniors
- Midweek Bible Study—Primary
- Italian Sunday Preaching
- Hungarian Preaching
- Hungarian Class
- Italian Mothers' Class
- Bambini
- Special Service—Hungarian New Year's
- Sunday afternoon Open House

Community Welfare
- Library
- Reading Room
- Play Ground
- Junior Boys
  - Gym
  - Basketball
- Junior Girls
  - Folk Games
  - Story Hours
- Senior Boys
  - Pool
  - Gym
  - Basketball
  - Games Room
- Baths

Social Events
- Sale
- Visiting Day
- S. S. Teachers' Supper
- Social Workers' Conference
- Games

Educational and Industrial
- Music Lessons
- Sewing Classes
- Dressmaking Classes
- Basketry Class
- Handicraft Class
- Study Room
- Chorus

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following works or articles are referred to in the foregoing study. Those starred are considered by the writer as furnishing the most and the most valuable information upon some phase or phases of the subject as it has been treated. While the list is brief, the works in total are comprehensive of the whole subject.

ANNUARIO STATISTICO ITALIANO, 1915 (Abstract of the Census).

ARRIGHI, ANTONIO—*The Story of Antonio, the Galley-Slave.*

*ABBOTT, GRACE—*The Immigrant and the Community.*

*BAGOT, RICHARD—*Italians of Today.*

BAGOT, RICHARD—*My Italian Year.*

BRACE, C. L.—*The Dangerous Classes of New York.*

CAPOZZI—*Protestantism and the Latin Soul.*

CARR, JOHN FOSTER—*A Guide to the United States for Italian Immigrants.*

Catholic Encyclopedia, The, article *Italians.*

*CLARK, FRANCIS E.—*Our Italian Fellow-Citizens.*

*COULTER, CHARLES W.—*The Italians of Cleveland* (Pamphlet of the Cleveland Americanization Committee).

*FOERSTER, R. F.—*Italian Emigration of Our Times.*

GIAMPICCOLI, ERNESTO—*Relazione Annuaria del Moderatore della Chiesa Valdese,* 1920.

Immigration Journal, September, 1916.

INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT—*Studies of New Americans, Religious Education,* William B. Sly.

INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT—*Studies of New Americans, Literature,* Amy Blanche Greene.

Literary Digest, October 11, 1913.

*LUZZI, GIOVANNI—*The Struggle for Christian Truth in Italy.*

*Mangano, Antonio—*Religious Work among Italians in America,* pamphlet.

*Mangano, Antonio—*Sons of Italy.*

*Mariano, John H.—*The Italian Contribution to American Democracy.*

*McClure, Archibald—*Leadership in the New America.*

Methodist Episcopal Board of Home Missions, *Suggested Program for Italian Missions.*

Odencrantz, Florence—*Italian Women in Industry.*

Prezzolino, Giuseppe—*The Fascisti,* article *Century Magazine,* September 1921.

Riis, Jacob—*A Ten Years' War.*

Riis, Jacob—*How the Other Half Lives.*

*Sartorio, Enrico C.—*The Social and Religious Life of Italians in America.*

Simpson, A. B.—*Michele Nardi: His Life and Work.*

Speranza, Gino C.—Articles: *Atlantic Monthly,* February 1920; *Outlook,* Vol. 119.

Steiner, Edward A.—*A Broken Wall.*

Steiner, Edward A.—*The Immigrant Tide: its Ebb and Flow.*

Shriver, William H.—*Immigrant Forces.*

Thomas—*Treatment of Immigrant Heritages,* manuscript *Carnegie Corporation Studies.*

Train, Arthur.—*Courts, Criminals and the Camorra.*

U. S. Commissioner of Labor, 7th Special Report, 1894, *The Slums of Great Cities.*

U. S. Bulletin of Labor, 1907, Emily Fogg Meade, *The Italian on the Land.*

U. S. Bulletin, Bureau of Labor, No. 72, Sheridan, F. J., *Italian, Slavic and Hungarian Unskilled Immigrant Laborers in the United States.*

U. S. Industrial Commission, Volume 15.

U. S. Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1914.

U. S. Bureau of Census, Birth Statistics for the Registration Area of U. S., 1915, 1st Annual Report.

Vivian, Herbert—Article: *Fortnightly Review,* Volume 104.

Warner, Arthur H.—Article: *National Geographic Magazine,* Vol. 20: 1062.

Weyl, W. E.—Article: *Outlook,* Vol. 94.

Year Book of Grace Parish (Protestant Episcopal, New York), 1915.
Young Women's Christian Association, International Institute Pamphlets.

INDEX

Agriculture, 18-24, 57, 58; in the North, 18; in the South, 19; defective methods, 19, 21.
American churches, Italians in, 126.
Americanization, 83.
American living standards, 63.
Appendices (A) Methodist Episcopal Home Mission Program, 143; (B) Schedule of Judson Memorial Neighborhood House, 146; (C) Program of Davenport Settlement, 148.
Arrighi, 111, 133.
Assimilation, forces of, 92; point of view, 92.
Atheism—Italian drift to, 107.

Banker, 70.
Baptist church in Italy, the, 48.
Bible, The, its growing power, 50; Italian versions of, 50.
Bibliography, 149.
Black Hand, 79.

Camorra, The, 79.
Campanilism, 38, 61, 72.
Cavour, 15.
Church, The, a business, 15; building, 45; finance, 118; difficulties of, 122; organization, types of, 124.
Clot, Rev. Alberto, 111.
Colonies and assimilation, 60; and clans, 61; and industry, 62.
Community idea, The, 93.
Conversions, examples of, 121.

Davenport Settlement, 147.
Deforestation, 20.
Delinquency and crime, 77.
Dialects, 39.

Economic conditions, 60.
Education in Italy: elementary, 31; in morals, 32; Educational forces, 84-97; malign, 84, 85.
Education of military life, 33.
Emigration in general, 24; to U. S., 25; causes of, 26; early, 26; industrial character, 27; type of, 27; by locality, 28; permanency, 28; future outlook, 29; illiteracy, 31.
Employers and Italian labor, 83.
English classes, 93.
Evangelization, 116, 117; cooperation of Americans and Italians, 124.

Family life in Italy, 33, 35; in U. S., 73; parents and children, 74, 75.
Family in industry, The, 64.
Fascisti, 40.
Feudalism, 24.

Gabelotto, 22, 23.
Garibaldi, 15, 26, 38.

Hymnology, Italian, 130.
Home Mission program for an Italian M. E. church, 142.

Illiteracy in Italy, 31.
Immigration, causes of, 54; distribution of, 53, 54.
Immigrants: protective agencies, 94; social conditions of, 65; unrest of, 66.
Industries, 17; Italians in, 55; in manufactures, 56, 57; mining, 56; building trades, 56; agriculture, 57.
Institutional work, 93; churches, 113.

Intermarriage, 76.
Irreligion, a heritage, 42.
Italian children in advanced schools, 87.
Italian pastors, growing efficiency of, 126.
Italians, deficient in religious sentiment, 47.
Italy, a crucible of social experiment, 14; economic conditions, 16; geographical position, 13; immigrant love for, 72; Italian racial allegiance, 96; meeting ground of races, 13; religious conditions, 43; social conditions, 30; the South, 14; unity, 15.

Judson Neighborhood House, 145.

Landlords, 21; absentee, 21; evils of absenteeism, 22.
Leadership, 89-92; growth of, 91; problems of, 132-138.
Libraries, 88.
Literature, 88; Italian, 88; religious, 88, 127-131.

Mafia, The, 37, 38.
Magazines, Italian, 131.
Mangano, 112.
Malaria, 20, 21.
Mazzini, 15, 43.
Meridionale, 14, 17, 21, 40.
Methodist Episcopal Church in Italy, 48, 52, 132.
Military life in Italy, 33.
Mission to Italians, beginnings of, 110.
Modernism, 51.
Moral standards, 36.
Moral values in north and south, 37.

Nardi, 111, 132.
Nationalism, 38.
Naturalization, 95.
Newspapers, Italian, 88; religious, 128; secular, 88-89.

Organized labor, attitude to, 82.

Padrone, 69.
Papacy, 14, 42.
Parochial schools, 86.
Pastoral work, vital, 118.
Peasantry, 18; attitude toward religion, 44.
Politics, first ideals in, 80; Italians in office, 81.
Preaching, effective, 120.
Protestant effort, challenge to, 108; faith retained, 104; Italian ministers' methods of work, 114, 115.
Protestantism in Italy, program of, 52; in Sicily, 49; strength of, 49; variant ideas of, 117.
Public opinion, defective, 39.
Public School, The, 86.

Recommendations, 139-141.
Recreation, 74.
Reformation in Italy, The, 41.
Return movement to Italy, 59.
Riis, Jacob, 68; quoted, 81.
Ritual, 120.
Roman Catholicism transplanted,
Roman Catholic Church, break of Italians from, 100; character of effort, 100; indifference analyzed, 105; slow beginnings here, 99; social service, 102; (Italian) transplanted, 99; summary, 103.
Rural life in Italy, A northern village, 33; A southern town, 34.
Rural women, faith of, 46.

Settlement work, Davenport, 147.
Sicily and Sicilians, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 61, 120.
Social conditions in Italy, 30; in U. S., 67.
Socialism, in Italy, 40, 41; Italians drift to, 40, 107.
Southern town, A, 34; the houses, 35; the people, 36; the piazza, 35.
Standards of living, cleanliness, 68; diet, 69; housing, 67, 68; of Italian workmen, 17; of

southern Italy, 23; in U. S., 63.
Street preaching, 117.
Success and failure as farmers, 59.
Suffrage in Italy, 31.
Sunday school, The, central, 115.

Taxes in Italy, 24.
Tent work, 117.
Thrift of Italians, 62.
Tract literature, Italian, 129.

Unity of Italy, 15.

Victor Immanuel II, 15, 16.
Village life in Italy, moral, 36.
Wages of Italians, 18; in U. S., 63.
War, The Great, 30; an agency in Americanization, 97.
Waldensians, in Italy, 47, 52; in U. S., 104, 111, 132.
Wesleyan Methodists in Italy, 48.
Women Missionaries, 137.

Y. M. C. A., 29, 49, 109; and Italian youth, 108.
Y. W. C. A., 49, 76, 93, 109; institutes of, 138.

Date Due

Library Bureau Cat. no. 1137

E
184.I8
R797

53585

AUTHOR
Rose, P.M.

TITLE
Italians in America.

DATE LOANED	BORROWER'S NAME	DATE RETURNED
12/17/68	Paul S. Nowey	
FEB 1 '87	Joby McDevitt MKB MDH	
FEB 24 '87	Renew MAR 15 '87	

C0-AMM-522